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NEPAL-TIBET CULTURAL RELATIONS AND THE ZHVA-DMAR-PA (SHYAMARPA) LAMAS OF TIBET

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History and Background of Cultural Relationship

The cultural relationship between Nepal and Tibet is age-old. The first step in this relation came through Buddhism around the first half of the seventh century A.D. According to the historical sources, Nepal played an important rôle in the development of Buddhism and the Buddhist heritage in Tibet from the very beginning: from the mahayanist transmission to Tibet, which took place at the time of the Licchavi dynasty in Nepal. According to Chinese and Tibetan chronicles and annals, Nepal and Tibet were also culturally bound together through a royal marriage. The blue, red, and white annals (*deb-mther-ngon-po*, *deb-mther-dmar-po*, and *deb-mther-dkar-po* respectively), eleventh, thirteenth and nineteenth century Tibetan texts, and the Tang and Tung-huang annals, seventh-eights century Chinese texts, both mention that the daughter of the then Nepali King Amśuvarman ('od-gser-go-ca in Tibetan sources)¹ known as *khro-gner-ma* (bhr̥kuṭī) in Tibetan sources² was given in a marriage to Tibetan King *srong-btsang-sgam-po* (618-712). It is also known from the same source that the Nepali princess took Buddhist images and few other important religious artifacts as gift to Tibet from Nepal (Tucci 1971: fols. 19-19a, Dhungel 1986: 185-191). At that time, several prominent Buddhist scholars were also sent to Tibet from Nepal to support the mahayanist missionary movement. Records show that Buddhists of Licchavi origin were also transmigrated to Tibet and played a prominent role in the movement. Lama *rgyal-mtshan* of *cho-gro* in Tibet was one of such Licchavi immigrants in Tibet, who was one of the three main Tibetan-Sanskrit translators (*lo-tsa-ba*) (*Padma bka'-thang*, canto 68, 70). He was one of the talented and leading Tibetan students sent to India from Tibet for Buddhist learning, who having returned from India,

translated two famous Buddhist texts, *caryākriya* and the *yogatantra* (Ibid: 70, Douglas and Bays 1978: 410).

Nepali Buddhist scholars continued to play a prominent role in the development of Buddhism in Tibet. The early religious and cultural links later enabled both countries to develop political ties. As a matter of fact, the Nepali ruling king named Udayadeva, together with his entire family members and supporting courtiers had to flee to Tibet for political asylum in around 619-636 A.D. because of the coup d'etat that occurred in the court of Nepal (Bacot 1940-46: 13, Levi 1905-8 Vol. I: 164-65, Dhungel 1986: 95-96). Thus, the formal tradition of cultural and political exchanges between the two countries was established.

The extent of bilateral missions between Nepali vajrācaryas, artists, architects etc. and Tibetan lamas, tantriks and doctrinal pupils increased considerably in later periods. Syncretically, commercial transactions also increased between the two neighbours, especially from ninth/tenth centuries A.D. This ancient relation seems to have lasted until the twentieth century Chinese takeover of Tibet. But the main historical basis of this relationship was already disturbed by the success of Young husband mission of the British Government in India in Tibet in the years 1903-4 (Camman 1951).

Despite this, Nepali scholars did not tire of visiting Tibet, especially because of the strong hold of Tantrik Buddhism in Tibet. Countless number of Tibetan monks would also come to Nepal for pilgrimage and pursuance of Buddhist education (Jnavāli 2019 VS: 268-282). Both Tibetan and Nepali sources shed enough lights on the holy pilgrimages of Tibetan pilgrims in Nepal. Despite the geographic terrain, beginning from the tenth century, Kathmandu Valley was developed as an important Buddhist pilgrimage and education center. This lofty position of Kathmandu was maintained until the fifteenth century. It is interesting that during these centuries the *vajrayana* or *tantrayana* tradition was developed and flourished as one of the prominent ways of Mahayana Buddhism. Although the tantrik tradition was originated in Northern India, it was developed and flourished in a very unique way in Nepal beginning from the eve of Muslim invasion in India. Thus, the Tibetan Buddhism during these centuries and after was almost entirely influenced by the Nepali *vajrayana*. Because of such doctrinal linkage, uncountable number of high-ranking Buddhist scholars (lamas and monk pupils) from Tibet also visited Nepal to pursue and perform religious activities.³

The contributions of artist *a-ni-ko*, *paṇḍita Śīlamanju*, *a-nges-pa chen-po*, *pham-ping-pa* (*paṇḍita guṇamitra* of Pharping), *ngaggi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa* (*bagisvarakīrti*), *dharmamati*, *dus-'khor-pa*, *thang-chung-pa byang-chub-bzang-po* (*bodhibhḍra*), also known as *kha-chhe* and others are noteworthy in this regard (Roerich 1976: 227-28, 380-82, 384, 395, 402, 851, *padma-bka'i thang-yig*, canto 68, 70, Das 1983: 219). Similarly, the Tibetan cultural, religious, and educational visits and missions of Nepal led by some of the very prominent Buddhist scholars like *thon-mi-sam-bhota* (Tibetan minister), *rdo-rje dus-jum* and his two brothers (no name available), *chos-rje-dpal* (*dharmasvāmīn*), *mi-la-ras-pa*, *rdo-rje tshe-dhang-nor-bu*, *drug-pa rin-po-che* to Nepal in different ages are also equally important in this context. Many Tibetan lamas set examples in establishing huge and magnificent monasteries whereas evidence has been found that others had constructed and renovated various stupas, sculptures and composed several volumes of religious texts. An important Buddhist source describes that *rdo-rje tshe-dhang-nor-bu* and the *drug-pa rin-po-che* had constructed and renovated structures in around svayambhunātha stupa (Dhungel 1988: 4-7). In this connection, sufficient importance should also be given to the Munivihara of Bhaktapur, constructed in 1666 A.D. (NE 787) in memory of their father, Muniji by *rgya-ron* and *padma-rdo-rje*, the monks of *ji-ga-che's bkara-shis-lhun-po* monastery. Inscriptions from that monastery indicate that Tibetan monks had constructed the monastery with their own funds and endowed about thirty-two ropanis of land on trust (*guthi*) for the monastery (Vaidya and Shakya 1970: 131-34). The evidence mentioned above shows the string of bilateral relationship between Nepal and Tibet was tightened through Buddhism. In this connection, we should also mention the *zhva-dmar-pa rin-po-ches'* relations with Nepal.

The visits of the personalities mentioned above to Nepal and their exclusive religious performances here are of great importance. Even more fascinating again is why the abbots of *yangas-pa-can* monastery were so close to Nepal. This is very much inter-woven with an important event related to the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa chos-grub-rgya-mtsho* however, the eighth incarnation of *zhva-dmar-pa* in Nepal and the visits of the fourth and sixth *zhva-dmar-pa-s* had also played a distinctive role in it.

Zhva-dmar-pa Lamas and Nepal

The *zhva-dmar-pa-s* are the incarnate abbots of *yangs-pa-can* monastery of Tibet which is one of the prominent monasteries of the *karma-bka'-rgyud* school of Tibetan Buddhism.⁴ The *zhva-dmar-pa* is one of the three sub-sects of the karma line of the *bka'-rgyud-pa* school. These three groups of karma-pa are known as *zhva-nag*, *zhva-dmar*, and *zhva-khra* i.e. black hatted, red hatted, and multicolored hatted respectively. The tradition of reincarnation of the *zhva-dmar-pa* was initiated by the Third Karmapa Lama Ragjung Dorje (), who recognized the first *zhva-dmar-pa* grags-pa seng-ge (1282-1349) as the incarnation of Amitābha Buddha. This first *zhva-dmar-pa* was the second individual in Tibet to reincarnate in successive line. The *zhva-dmar-pa's* central monastery was located at *stod-lung-tshur-phug* of Central Tibet and is also called *byang-yangs-pa-can*. This monastery was famous for having relic tomb of the great Tibetan Buddhist scholar, *tsong-kha-pa* (1357-1419).⁵

As mentioned above, these *zhva-dmar-pa-s* had a very special, close, and continual relationship with the people and government of Nepal. The issue of the *zhva-dmar-pa-s* is therefore one of the most important in the study of Nepal-Tibet bilateral relations. Despite its unique importance, historians' effort in this regard seems so far to be somewhat tardy. Most historians have eschewed the main theme of this subject and have mentioned the single incident of the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa's* political asylum in Nepal. In fact, there is a long historical tradition of *zhva-dmar-pa-lamas'* relationship with Nepal, which has left a deep implication in the field of political and cultural history of the region. Unfortunately, researchers have not yet discovered any substantial record regarding the early history of this relationship. However, the biographical sources related to the seventh Karmapa mention that the fourth *zhvar-dmar-pa chos-kyi-grags-pa-dpal ye-se* (1453-1526) was the first lama of this line to visit Nepal where he is said to have constructed a small monastery near the svayambhūnāth stupa in 1483. It seems that the close relation of the *zhva-dmar-pa-s* with Nepal particularly after the sixteenth century was enhanced through the abbots of the 'drug-pa *bka'-rgyud-pa* school of *lho-smon* or 'brug-yul (Bhutan). Nepal and the *yangs-pa-can* monastery both had maintained close religious and cultural relations with the 'brug-pa lamas of Bhutan (Dhungel 1986: 13). The svayambhū inscription authored by the tenth *zhva-dmar abbot chos-grub-rgya-mcho* also throws some light on this matter (Dhungel 1988:9). This inscription has clearly mentioned the deep-rooted linkage of 'brug-pa *rin-po-che* with the work of the renovation of the

svayambhūmahācaitya (*phags-pa-shing-skun*) held between 1751 and 1758. According to this inscription, the final consecration ceremony of the renovated stupa was done under the spiritual command of the '*brug-pa-rin-po-che* in 1758 (Dhungel, 1988: 9).



The First Zhva-dmar Rinpoche Grags-pa Seng-ge (1281-1349)

Coming to the first half of the seventeenth century, some evidential records related to *zhva-dmar-pa* have been found. These records clearly indicate the relation of the *zhva-dmar-pa* abbots with Nepal had already been established even before the reign of King Laksmīnārasiṃha Malla of Kantipur (Kathmandu) (reign 1619-1641) (Shakya NS 1098: 173). One of the young disciples of the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa*, also known as the *yol-mo-ba sprul-sku bstan-'dzin-nor-bu* had already visited Nepal Valley between the years 1614 and 1617 during the reign of the other Malla King



The Sixth Zhva-dmar Rinpoche Gar-dbang-Chos-Kyi dbang-phyug (1584 - 1630)



The present Zhva-dmar-Rinpoche Chos-Kyi blo-gros (1952-) with H.M. the King and Queen of Nepal at the opening of a Tietan Buddhist monastery in Kathmandu.

Śivasimha (reign 1578-1617) (Ehrhard 1997: 134). Similarly, during the reign of King Lakṣminarsimha Malla the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa gar-dbang-chos-kyi dbang-phyug* (1584-1630) had visited Nepal and established special links with the people and rulers of the three kingdoms of the Kathmandu valley (*bal-yul*). Besides his distinct relationship with the ruler of Kantipur, the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* lama is also recorded to have had separate meetings with the rulers of Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. According to the biographical literature related to the ninth Karmāpa the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa chos-kyi dbang-phyug* had even taught the dharma in Sanskrit to the king of Kantipur and his relatives who had demonstrated great trust and confidence. His pilgrimage to Nepal Valley and the journey related to it was occurred sometime around 1629/30 (Ehrhard 1997: 126, Shakya NS 1098: 172). During his pilgrimage in Nepal, the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* had made some efforts in renovating the *svayambhūmahācaitya*. According to a contemporary Newari source, the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* had offered four artistic golden tympanums (*toraṇa*) to the *mahācaitya* (Shakya, 1098: 172). At the same time he is also said to have donated some property to the Hārati temple located near the *māhācaitya*. This religious activity of the *zhva-dmar-pa* was done during a minor renovation of the *svayambhūmahācaitya* held in February 1629 (Shakya, N.S. 1098: 172). This document clearly records the incident related to the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa*'s pilgrimage to *svayambhū* and the consecration ceremony held after the renovation of 1629 (N.S. 750) (Shakya, Ibid). The same source also indicates that the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* had established a good religious and cultural links with some of the major Buddhist monasteries of Kathmandu valley (Shakya, Ibid). This renovation and the offering of golden *torāṇas* by the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* was done with a kind permission of King Lakṣminarasimha of Kathmandu. Thus the king was duly invited to attend the consecration ceremony (Shakya, Ibid).

Because of such cultural ties established with the people and rulers of Nepal (Kathmandu Valley), the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa* abbot had been able to gain high popularity and respect in Nepal. One of such instances is the incident related to the return journey of the sixth *zhva-dmar-pa*. In this return journey the *zhva-dmar-pa* abbot is recorded to have been escorted up to *boudhanāth* by King Lakṣminarsimha and Crown Prince Pratapa Malla themselves. During this return journey, the *zhva-dmar* abbot was also welcomed by the local ruler (governor) of Listi who was a relative of the king of Kathmandu (Ehrhard 1997: 130). Similarly, the great lama is also

recorded to have been welcomed by the people and rulers of other parts of Nepal such as *jum-glang* (Jumla), *yol-mo* (Helambu), *sne-shang* (Manang) *dpal-tsho* (Sindhupalchok) (Elhrhard, 1997: 127, 130, 132, 134). *Cho-kyi dbang-phyug* passed away in the mountains of *yol-mo* (Helambu) in Nepal while he was in a deep mountain.

In this context we also have to note the incident of the birth of the eighth incarnate abbot of this *yangs-pa-can* monastery, *dpal-chen chos-kyi don-grub* (1695-1735), who is believed to have been born in a petty village of the Himalayan region of Eastern Nepal, known as Helambu (*yol-mo* in Tibetan sources). Similarly, historical evidence has also been found proving his visit to the Lo region of Nepal in the years 1724-1725 (Dhungel, 1989: 152-153, Jackson 1979: 130 footnotes 78-79). Biographical sources of the eleventh Karmapa also mention the story related to the eight *zhva-dmar-pa*'s visit to Nepal. His visit this time, was objected towards the pilgrimage of the land of *svayambhū*.⁶ Therefore, it seems obvious that the above mentioned fourth, sixth and eighth *zhva-dmar-pa*-s had a very close and friendly relationship with Nepal. The ninth *zhva-dmar-pa* was *dkon-mchog rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gñas*, who is believed to have lived only until the age of nine. Thus the exact dates of his birth and death are not known. Again the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa* had also visited Nepal, as it is believed throughout the entire world of the Karma-pa. However, it is still not fully ascertainable due to the lack of documents whether the first three, fifth and seventh *zhva-dmar-pa*-s had cultivated any good relations with Nepal. Among the *zhva-dmar* abbots between their fourth and tenth incarnations, the tenth had developed an unique and special relations with Nepal and that had even become one of the major causes of a war between Nepal and Tibet and later even China also took part in it.

The Tenth Zhva-dmar-pa and Nepal

The relations of the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa chos-grub-rgya-mcho* is the most important aspect of this history. He contributed much to strengthen this historical cultural relation. His special and profound contact with the Buddhist Vajracarya Community in Nepal enabled him to do so. Because of Chinese policy and pressure in Tibet, he even had to take political asylum in Nepal, and that incident became one of the root causes of the Nepal-Tibet-China War of 1788-1792. In this war, Nepali troops looted the *bkra-shis-lhun-po dgon-pa* (tashilunpo monastery) of *shikache*, the second most powerful and the richest monastery in Tibet (Shakabpa 1967: 235,

Kirkpatrick 1975: 175). However, the main cause of this incident was the international rivalries between China, Russia and the British-India. Unfortunately, the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa* was accused of the heavy loss of Tashilhunpo's property and therefore was accordingly imprisoned by the Tibetan Government. Escaping from house-arrest, he, then fled to Nepal via Sikkim together with his fourteen followers and after all took political asylum there in 1788. A government document related to this incident is available (Yogi V.E. 2022: 52-53). In Nepal, the *zhva-dmar-pa* and his assistants submitted a *dharmapatra* (written oath) to the *mahārāja* of Nepal taking oath of faith and commitment. The text of the *dharmapatra* reads 'we no longer support Chinese Lha-sa (Tibetan Government of the Dalai Lama) rather become subjects of your Gorkha Majesty (the king of Nepal)' (Yogi, Ibid).

At that time, the abbot of Tashilhunpo, third Panchen Lama *blo-bzang pal-ldan-ye-se*'s relation with British Indian authorities was very close. In accordance with Governor Warren Hasting's interest, under the leadership of George Bogle, a mission was sent to Tibet. Playing a role of British envoy George Bogle met the third Panchen Lama in Lha-sa in 1772 (Das, 1970: 126). On the other hand, this relation effected Russian and Chinese interest in international political arena. Therefore, the Chinese Emperor invited the Panchen Lama to pay a cordial visit to China. Surprisingly, the lama died during his China visit. The lama's death and the parallel views of neighboring countries towards Tibet flourishes a hypothesis: His death was caused intrigue. A strong evidence in support of this argument is available. For example, immediately after the end of Nepal-Tibet-China War, Abdul Kadir Khan, the resident representative of the British Governor General in Benaras, who arrived Nepal for a strategic study, reported that the lama was served poisonous dishes in the emperor's palace (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. VIII, 1788-89, events mentioning the particulars relating to the raja of Nepal and the Emperor of China dated Sept. 15, 1792). Whatever might be the truth, most historians have agreed that, the lama, who was the emperor's spiritual teacher who had established a cordial relationship with the emperor, died of sudden dangerous ailment (Das, 1970: 132-134). Therefore, an apt decision should be ascertained reviewing the matter. At that time, the fifth Dalai Lama of Tibet was still in his infancy, whose regent (*rgyal-tshab-rin-po-che*) *kun-lde-ling-rtag-chag bstang-pa'i mgon-po* was of Chinese influence, whereas the Panchen along with another prominent abbot, the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa*, had come under English

influence, which reveals a strong point that the death had culpability. In order to solve the misunderstandings of Nepal-Tibet relation and war questions, the Panchen Lama followed very crude politics by provoking the Jumli Rājā against Gorkha-Nepal or corresponding with the British Indian Governor General requesting attack over Nepal. (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. VIII, 1788-89, notes about the request letter of Tashi Lama of Tibet, dated Jan. 22, 1789). Tashilhunpo's authorities seem to have very secretly corresponded with British Indian authorities without making it known even to Chinese and the *rgyal-tshab-rin-po-che*, the Dalai Lama's regent. They also had requested to the British authorities not to disclose the content of the letter, if the secrecy was to be uncovered later, the letter mentioned that the Panchen himself would have his life endangered (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Ibid). So the content of the letter reflects the authorities' intention of ignoring China's assistance to Tibet in Nepal-Tibet-China War. The letter also hints that, if Nepal would be unable to attack Tibet that the Chinese should not have any ground to enter Tibet (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Ibid). Such evidence further strengthens the aforesaid point that the death of the third Panchen Lama could have been caused by secret plotting.

On the factual grounds mentioned above the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa*'s fleeing into Nepal was not the primary cause of Tashilhunpo's loss of properties. It was only a secondary cause. It can be assumed that the *zhva-dmar-pa* would not have stolen or deliberately misused someone else's property in cordial and peaceful situation because he himself was one of the incarnate abbots of *yans-pa-can* monastery. The *yangs-pa-can* was under the *karma bka'-rgyud* line and tenth abbot of this monastery, the title holder of *ho-thog-thu* (equivalent to the regent) (Martynov, 1987: 6-20)⁷. Again the religious sect of *zhva-dmar-pa* i.e. *yans-pa-can* monastery and of the Panchen *rin-po-che* of Tashilhunpo, were not of the same line and even *zhva-dmar-pa* had no direct relation and influence on Tashilhunpo in any religious outlook. It has been mentioned above that the *zhva-dmar-pa* was of the *karma-bka'-rgyud* school and Panchen Lama was of the *dge-lugs-pa* school, the so called highly purified and reformed sect developed by the great Tibetan Buddhist scholar *tsong-kha-pa* (Das, 1983: 273). This school was formerly called '*chos-rje dga'-ldan-pal'i lugs* which term has later assumed the form *dge-lugs-pa*. Spiritual seat of the founder of this school, *tsong-kha-pa* in the later transferred in the hand of *rgyal-ba-rin-po-che* i.e. the Dalai Lama. There were vast differences in religious practices and

philosophy between dge-lugs-pa and the other sects of Tibetan Buddhism. There was only one relationship between Tashilhunpo and the *yans-pa-can* in that period. The Pan-chen Lama and the *zhva-dmar-pa* tenth were brothers. The third Panchen *dpal-Idan-ye-se* was elder and the tenth *zhva-dmar chos grub rgya-mcho* was one of the younger brothers. Both being pro-English and after the sudden demise of the third Panchen in China, the leadership attained by the pro-English group of Tashilhunpo monastery was taken by the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa*. Therefore he had to be a traitor to both the Government of China and Tibet. So, having an uncertain future in Tibet he fled to Nepal to save his life. In the process he took his own property as well as a portion of the Tashilhunpo's property. According to the biography of Lama *kah-thog rig-'dzin* the tenth *zhva-dmar rin-po-che* got into a serious conflict with his eldest brother known as *drung-pa ho-thog-thu*. The conflict was related to the property offered by the Emperor of China to the family of the third Panchen Lama after the sudden demise of the Lama in China. The *drung-pa* brother of the *zhva-dmar-pa*, who at that time was the care taker of the *bkva-shis-lhun-po* monastery, captured the property of the Panchen Lama and returned from China along with ten thousand gold coins offered by the emperor. As a younger brother of the family the tenth *zhva-dmar rinpoche* claimed for his share of the property provided by the emperor. The *drung-pa* brother denied to divide the property. Eventually the *zhva-dmar-pa*, with the help of his follower monks from *bkra-shis-thun-po* got success in acquiring his share of the property. But the regent (*rgyal-tshab-rin-po-che*) of the Dalai Lama *kun-bde-gling-rtag-tshag-bstan-pa'i mgon-po* in order to suspend him accused him of misusing the *dgon-pa's* property in conspiring with Chinese will and direction. The *zhva-dmar-pa*, who was accused of taking away of monastic property and later put him in house arrest. Finally he fled to Nepal and took political asylum for he had an opportunity to flee from the house-arrest. According to the common belief of the followers of the *zhva-dmar-pa*, later he died of jaundice in Nepal. A contemporary Nepali report describing the causes and incidents of the Nepal-Tibet-China War 1789-92 prepared under the request of the council of East India Co. also agrees that the tenth *zhva-dmar-rinpoche* had passed away due to the divine will (Regmi 1980:49). Contrary to such evidence some foreign writers and Chinese sources mention that the lama had committed suicide. But this statement seems not other than a gross imagination and far from historical truth. After the Nepal-Tibet-China War, when talks of peaceful agreement began, the Chinese authority imposed a

severe condition over Nepal demanding the properties brought to Nepal by the *zhva-dmar-pa* be returned and that his wife, children, servants, and even his remains such as bones be sent back (Document of Foreign Ministry archives bundle No. 7).⁸

During his asylum in Nepal, the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa chos-grub-rgya-mtsho* (in Sanskrit *srimānaparājita dharmasiddhisāgarasena* = unconquerable ocean of accomplished dharma) had made a numerous religious and cultural services in the field of Buddhism including the donation and renovation of temples and monasteries. It is recorded that he first made an effort for a minor renovation of the *svayambhūmahācaitya* in 1790. During this renovation, the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa* restored several disrepaired religious object including the descriptive stone inscription originally inscribed and installed in 1758 (Dhungel 1988: 10, for Tibetan text: 7). The restored full text of the inscription was re-written by the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa* himself and it also includes the additional information related to the contribution made by him in 1790 (Dhungel, Ibid). During the course of renovation of the *svayambhūmahācaitya* and its surrounding areas, he is also recorded to have renovated the Harati temple offering a golden pinnacle and gold polish to the temple. It was a quite lavish renovation and the record of the expense incurred by the tenth *zhva-dmar* abbot for this can be seen in a copper-plate inscription of that time (appendix-4 of this article). Likewise, one year later, he also offered a large bell to *svayambhūnātha*. This bronze bell weighing 170 *dhārnis* of metal and three lines of inscription in Tibetan was installed in front of the temple known as *anantapura* and it still stands there (appendix-3). Similarly, in 1912, he provided some material and financial assistance to some of the important Buddhist monasteries of Nepal which includes *taksabahal* of Kathmandu particularly for the purpose of lighting lamp at *svayambhū* and *khāsā caitya (boudhanātha)* and in front of the *karunāmaya* of *taksabahal* (a letter of reverential praise and greeting offered to the present fourteenth *zhva-dmar-pa* by the Svayambhū Community in 1977). The fourteenth *zhva-dmar-pa* has also continued and maintained this old tradition of respecting variance Buddhism in Nepal by the abbots of *yangs-pa-can* monastery (*vaiśālī mahāvihāra*) of Tibet.⁹ He even visited Nepal to help in the renovation of the Harati temple, when the Government of Nepal renovated it (Ibid). Presently he is busy founding a monastary and Buddhist cultural center near Nagarjun in Kathmandu.



*The fourteenth Zhva-dmar Rinpoche Chos-Kyi-blo-gros (1952)
in official hat and dress*

Summary and Conclusion

Nepal, being an important center of Buddhist education played a prominent role in establishing Mahayana Buddhism in Tibet from the very inception of its Buddhist history. The role of Nepali scholars (Buddhist panditas), artists, traders, and the political and cultural contact of the royalties were very important in this regard. Similarly, visits of high-ranking Tibetan lamas and monk pupils as well as pilgrims also played significant role in strengthening the relationship. Even more interesting and important in this regard is the relation of the *zhva-dmar* abbots of *yangs-pa-can* monastery of Tibet with the people and Government of Nepal. So far as the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa*'s history is concerned, it is much more significant not only in the field of cultural relations but also for reconstructing the history of political rivalries in the region. The tenth *zhva-dmar-pa*'s asylum in Nepal and the third Panchen's demise in Beijing are the extreme examples of the rivalry of super-powers.

Notes

1. Sylvain Levi translated the name 'od-gzer-go-ca as *amsuvarma* ('od-gzer = *aṃśu* + go-ca = *varma*).
2. Levi translated this also for the first time as *bhr̥kuṭī* from the original Tibetan name *khro-gner-ma*. After that all historians have followed the same translation.
3. Tibetans had to prepare verities of guide books about the Buddhist religious geography of Nepal. In Tibetan, these books are known as *bal-yul-kyi gnye-skor*.
4. There are four major schools in Tibetan Buddhism namely *rning-ma-pa*, *bka-rgyud-pa*, *sa-skyapa*, and *dge-lugs-pa*.
5. This monastery was also known as *vaisalimahavihara* originally derived from the Sanskrit name of a city of northern India where Buddha had visited several times.
6. Similar type of biographical materials are non in the personal collection of the present fourteenth *zhva-dmar rin-poche*, *chos-kyi-blo-gros*.
7. Some documents mentioning *ho-thog-thu* to the *zhva-dmar* abbots are in the personal collection of the author of this paper. *Ho-thog-thu* is a Mongolian title and is equivalent to the regent of English tradition. Dozens of most valuable documents written in Nepali, Tibetan, Newari, and Chinese have also been discovered in the course of this research.
8. This is mentioned in several unpublished Chinese letters sent to Nepal and copies of which are in the possession of the author of this article. These letters were sent in 1972 (see also bibliography under Government Documents and appendix-5 of this article).
9. When visited Nepal, the *zhva-dmar* abbots were welcomed and given warm hospitality by the *vajrācāryas* of *taksabahal* and made them reside there. It is also believed that the *vajrācāryas* had also requested the government to rehabilitate the tenth *zhva-dmar-pa* as political refugee in Nepal.

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Government documents related to the affairs of the Tenth Zhva-dmar-pa Lama and the Nepal-Tibet-China War of 1788-1791, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives (Old Jaisikotha), Kathmandu:

- (a) A letter from Tung-thang-chang-jun, an army general and commander of Chinese Army force assigned in support of Tibet during Nepal-Tibet War.
- (b) An explanatory content of letters related to Nepal-Tibet and Nepal-China Wars: Description given uner the main entry 7 and 9, document nos: 91-96, 106, 113, 115. Among these documents, document no. 115 is even more important for the study of Nepal-Tibet-China relations and the phenomenon related to the Tenth Zhva-dmar-pa Lama. The descriptive

content of this document (No. 115) reads the following Nepali text:

“स्यामराको हाड् धन्मान गरी भारी ७ आइपुग्यो बाँकी दीगर्चाका तासीलिम्बुहरूको जो भयाको चाँडो पठाउनु स्यामराको स्वास्नी पठाइदिएको नुवाकोटबाट भागिछ सो पनि पत्ता लगाउनु भन्या र सरसौगाद गरी अर्जि लेषि चीनमा भारादार पठाईदिनु भन्या १८५० सालमा लाषाबाट टुङ्ग-श्वाङ्-जुङ्गले श्री ५ रणबहादुर साहका हजुरमा लेखेको सकल।”

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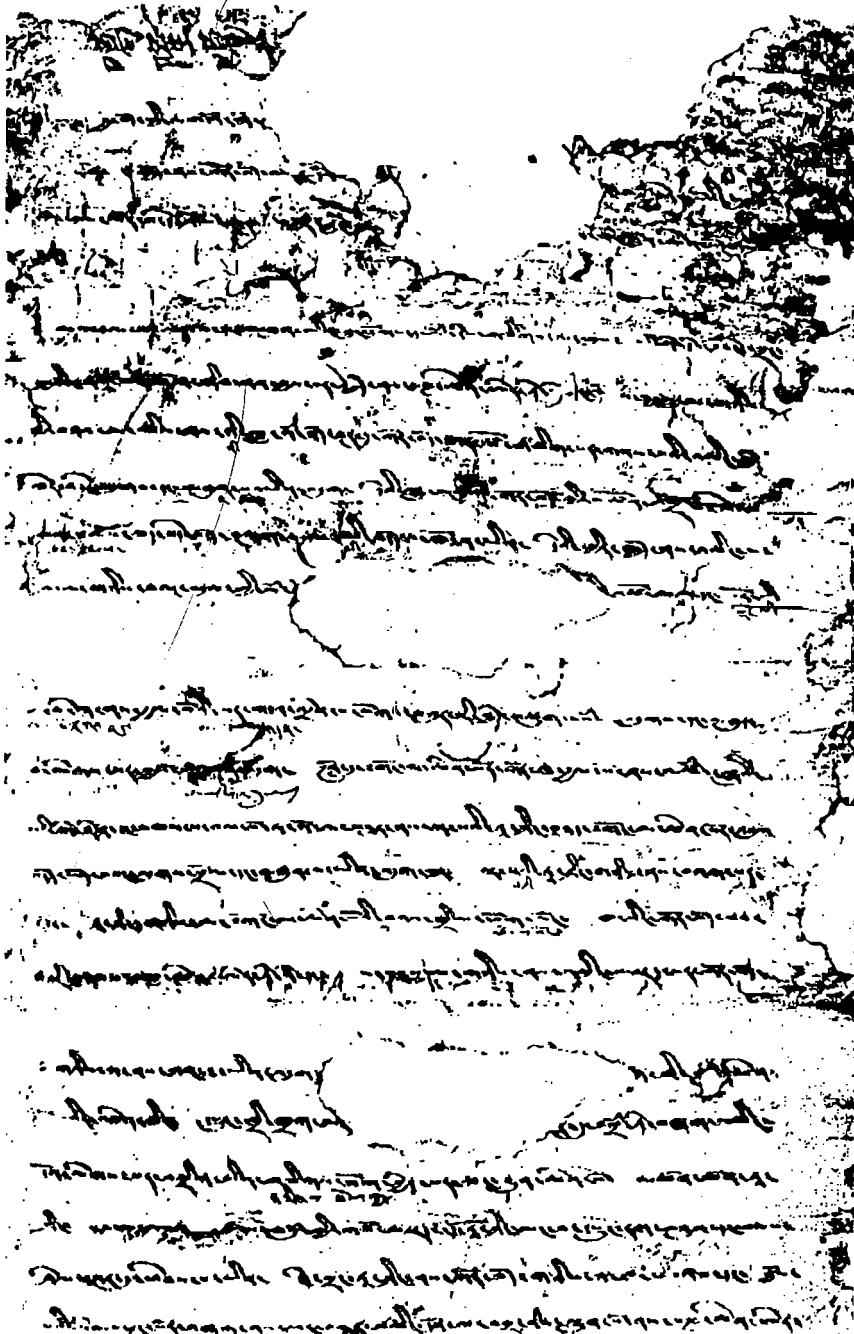
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APPENDIX 1

Chinese Amban Tang-tha-shing's letter to King Ranabahadur Shaha of Nepal regarding the Nepal-Tibet-China War and the Tenth Zhva-dmar-pa Lama dated chen-lung year 53 = 1789 A.D.



1. The first part of the document is a letter from the
author to the editor, in which the author expresses
his appreciation for the editor's work and his
hope that the journal will continue to be a valuable
source of information for the community.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from
the editor to the author, in which the editor
expresses his appreciation for the author's work
and his hope that the author will continue to
contribute to the journal.

3. The third part of the document is a letter from
the author to the editor, in which the author
expresses his appreciation for the editor's work
and his hope that the journal will continue to be
a valuable source of information for the community.

4. The fourth part of the document is a letter from
the editor to the author, in which the editor
expresses his appreciation for the author's work
and his hope that the author will continue to
contribute to the journal.

Transliteration of the above document

གཅིག་ཀྱི་

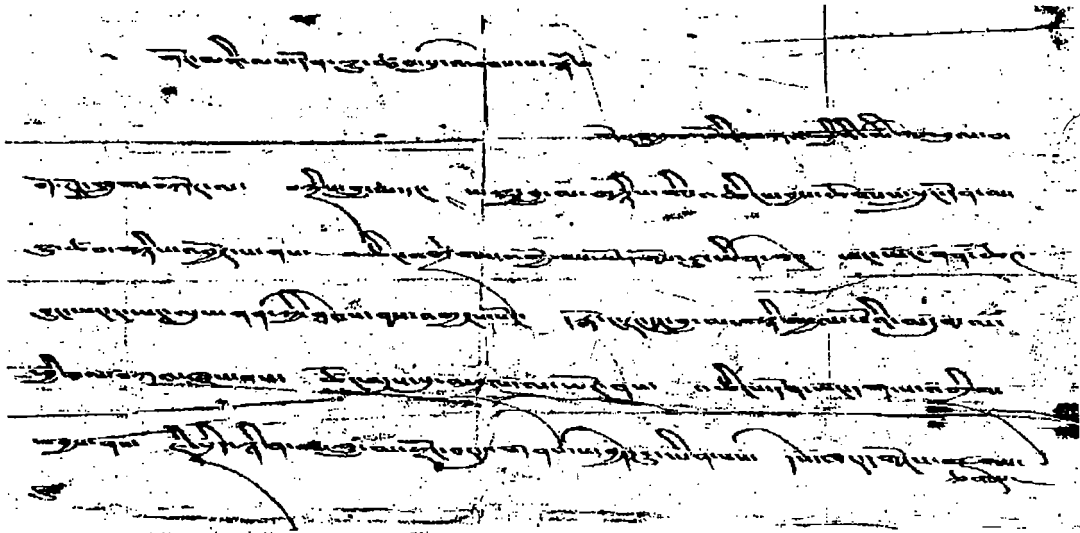
- ༡། རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་བྱེད་
- ༢། རྒྱ་ནས་གོ་བོད་འ་ཁྱིའ་ལྟེ་དོན་.....གོ་བོད་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཚབ་
- ༣། ལ་ལུ་མེད་བ་དེ་ལུ་དཀར་དུ་འབྱོར་བྱུང་ཀྱང་།.....ནང་སྒྲོན་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་
- ༤། ལ་འལུ་བ་དེ་ལུ་གས་དང་མཐུན་མིན་བྱུང་དགོས་དེ་ལོ་རེས་གཟིགས་ལ་ལུ་ཡི་གེ་དེ་དང་དེད་ཀྱང་
- ༥། ཏུ་ཤིང་ནས་བལྟ་ཐོག་ཞིབ་ནན་བྱས་པར་རྒྱ་ནས་པམ་ཆེན་ཨེར་ཏེ་དེ་དང་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་མ་གཉིས་
- ༦། ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལ་ཅིས་ནས་ཉི་མའི་སྐྱོད་བར་དུ་གོ་བོད་དཀར་ཆོ་གཅིག་པར་གནས་པའི་འཆིང་བྱེད་
- ༧། མེད་བ་དེ་ལུ་གས་དང་མཐུན་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་དེའི་སྐྱ་ཚབ་གོ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཆོན་འགོ་བ་སེམས་
- ༨། ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་བ་དེ་འདོད་སྐྱ་བ་སྐྱ་མི་འདོད་བ་ཁོན་ཡིན་དེའི་ཕྱིར་རྒྱ་ནས་འཆིང་ས་
- ༩། རྒྱ་སྐྱ་མ་གཉིས་བལ་ལུ་ཀྱི་ལམ་.....འཆིང་ཆས་དང་ལྟེ་ལི་
- ༡༠། བ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་རྒྱ་ལ་མེད་པར་གདན་འདྲན་བ་སོག་བཀའ་སྤྱི་བྱེད་བཅུག་པའི་ལུ་གས་དང་མཐུན་
- ༡༡། བ་ལེགས་པར་བྱས་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་ སྐྱོན་དུ་འགོང་མ་ཆེན་པོར་གོ་བོད་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་མེད་པར་མཆོས་ལུ་
- ༡༢། ཡི་གེ་རྒྱ་དང་བཅས་བ་བལ་པོ་ཏྲ་ཀོ་ལ་བསྐྱར་ནས་ལྟ་སའི་ཏུ་ཤིང་བརྒྱུད་འགོང་མ་ཆེན་པོར་འབུལ་
- ༡༣། འདོད་ཡོད་པའང་ལུ་གས་སྟོན་དང་མཐུན་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ལྟ་སའི་ཏུ་ཤིང་གཉིས་ནས་བཀག་པར་
- ༡༤། རྒྱ་། ཏུ་ཤིང་གཉིས་ལ་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་བཀའ་ཁྲུལ་པོག་སོང་། ཁ་སིང་གོར་ཅོད་ཐབ་
- ༡༥། འཆིང་སྐབས་པམ་ཆེན་ཨེར་ཏེ་དེ་དང་། སྐྱ་སྐྱ་མ་གཉིས་ནས་འཆིང་མཆོད་པར་གོར་ཅོད་

বাণী

- [illegible]

APPENDIX 2

Reply letter sent by the King (Ranabahadur Shah) of Nepal to Chinese Amban Tang-tha-shing in Tibet (1789)



Transliteration of the above document

- ༡༽ གོང་མའི་ལས་དོན་སྐྱེའོ་ཕུ་ལེགས་པ་རྣམས་
- ༢༽ གོང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ཕྱིར་ཡི་གེ་ཕུལ་བ་
- ༣༽ བོད་རིང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལ་ བཀའ་ལྷན་སྐྱེའོ་ཕུ་ལེགས་པ་གཉིས་གིས་ གྱིས་ འཆིངས་བྱས་
- ཆོག་པ་གསུང་དོན་ལ་
- ༤༽ སྐྱེའོ་ཕུ་ལེགས་པ་འབྲུང་པ་ནས་འཆིངས་འགྲོགས་པོར་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་ཟེར་
- ཡང་ཡང་ནན་ཆགས་བྱུང་ཡང་ང་ཡང་ལུ་ནན་གྱི་ཐེགས་ནས་འབྲུངས་པོར་
- དཀོང་རང་དང་སྐྱེའོ་ཕུ་ལེགས་པ་པོའི་མདུན་ལ་
- ༥༽ སྐྱེའོ་ཕུ་ལེགས་པ་ལས་ཆོང་འདུས་འཕམ་ལ་ཡོང་ནས་འཆིངས་དོན་ཡང་དག་པ་
- འགྲིག་ལ་བྱས་ནས་
- ༦༽ ཇི་སྟེན་ཉིན་རྒྱ་ནམ་སྟོང་བར་དུ་གནས་པ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པས་དེས་ཁར་དགོངས་
- འཇགས་ གྱི་ཕྱགས་ གྱི་ལྷ་

APPENDIX 3

The Tenth Zhya-dmar-pa Lama's inscription casted on a broze bell from Svayambhu (A.D. 1791)

༡། ༡༡། རྒྱལ་བའི་ཆོས་སྤྱི་རྟེན་མཆོག་

རིན་པོ་ཆེར། དབྱངས་སྒྲན་དེལ་བུ་རྟེན་

འབྱུང་འདི་ཕུལ་དགེས། ཁདག་དང་བདག་ལ་

འབྲེལ་བཅས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས། ཁགས་

སྐབས་མི་མཐུན་ཀྱང་པ་ཞི་བ་དང་། ཆེ་རིང་

ནད་མེད་ཆོས་ནོར་

༢། ཡོངས་འཕེལ་ཞིང་། སློག་སྤྱུལ་དམ་པའི་

ཆོས་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། ཁག་ཕྱོགས་

རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཞི་བར་མི་རུས་ཅིང་། །

སླིང་པོ་དོན་མཆོག་གནས་ལུགས་ལེགས་

རྟོགས་ནས། སྐྱབ་ཞི་རྒྱལ་ཐབ་དམ་པ་ཐབ་

པ་དང་། དེ་མ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་

༣། བར་དུ་གར་གནས་ཀྱང་། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་

དང་ནམ་ཡང་མི་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་། ཞི་བ་ཆོས་

ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་དབྱངས་རྟོག་ཐོས་ཤོག། ཆེས་པ་འང་

ཞུ་དམར་བརྩལ་ཆོས་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་ཆོས་

སློན་ཆོག་ཏུ་བྱིས་པ་ལྟར་འབྲུབ་པར་ཤོག།

རྩ་ཡུལ་།

༤། དེལ་བུ་འདིས་སྐྱུར་ལི་དར་ནི་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་

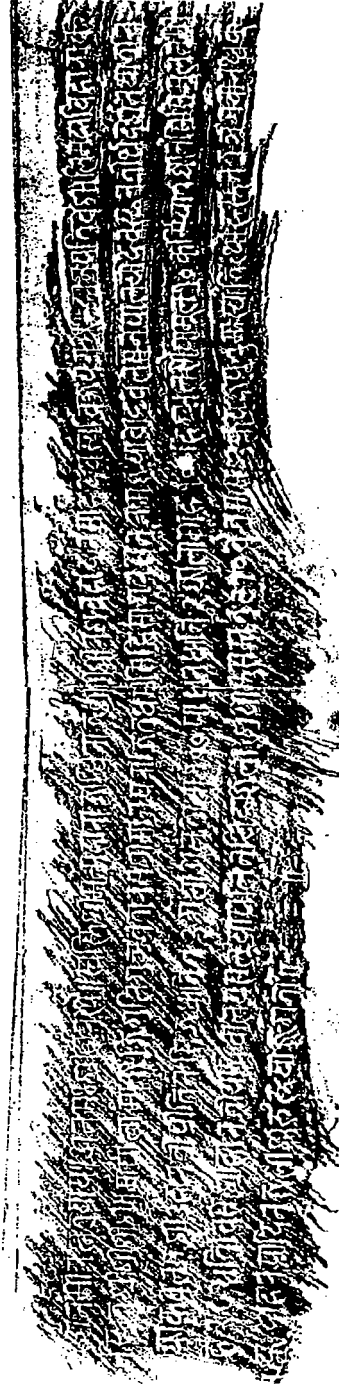
བརྒྱའི་རིན་དང་། བཟོ་སྐྱེ་བཅས་སྤྱོམ་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་

སྤག་གཅིག་དང་གསུམ་བརྒྱུ་དུག་བརྩུ་སོང་།།

APPENDIX 4

The Copper-plate Inscription of the Tenth Zhva-dmar-abbot from the Hariti Temple, Svayambhu (N.S. 910)

१. ॐ नमो रत्नत्रयाय॥ ॐ नमः श्री हारत्यै॥
स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजधिराज श्री श्री श्री
रणबहादुर साह विजय राज्ये॥ दानपति वैशालि
महाविहारा व-
२. स्थित श्री श्री श्री श्यामार्पालामाजु जिगुलिगु
अवतारस श्रीमानपराजित धर्मसिद्धि सागरसेन,
नामजुया चोङ्वेलस नेपालया देवस्थर
तीर्थदर्शनयात वि-
३. ज्याक वेलस श्री ३ हारती प्रीतिन सिज धार्नि ७३
शलाओ लुं तोला १०० पाधा २ धार्नि २ ज्याला मोह
१०० हिंवाल सौया मूल १० कर्मियात
ज्यानंसिसिमुलने मो
४. ह २८ ध्वति विसें, श्री हारतीया देवालयस लुंया
पलिन चिडा जुलो, श्रेयोस्तु सम्वत् ९१० चैत्रमासे
शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णमास्यां तिथौ हस्त न(क्ष)त्र अंगवार
ध्व कु
५. न्हु दीहरपा दिन जुलो शुभं भूयाज्जगता॥ ॥



APPENDIX 5

Letter from Chinese Army General Tung-thang-chang-jun to King Ranabahadur Shaha of Nepal sent from Dhaibung Kabhre in 1791 (H.M.G. Foreign Ministry Archieves S.N. 91)

१. स्वस्ति श्री श्री श्री श्री मंजुश्री अवतार चीनका वादसाहका हुकुम सौ आयाका सब फौजका सर्दार बजीर सहोदर भीमावतार श्री श्री श्री श्री म टुङ्ग्-थवाङ् च्यांजुन् वडा देवानाम् कस्य पत्रम्
२. स्वस्ति श्री ५ गोर्षा राजा रणबहादुर साहकेषु- उप्रांत तिमिले पठाईदियाको चिठि हामि च्याङ्-जुन वडाका हजूरमा आइपुग्यो अर्थ बुझिजुं। वांकी को पिछा पर्नाकोबाट विस्तार सवै
३. जो योग्य प्रमानसित लेष्या छौ बुभ्याँ, उप्रांत तिमिले पठाईदियाको रणजीत्पांडे अघि हाम्रा हजूरमा आउँदा तस्कोबाट (त्यसबाट) विस्तार सुनि पिछा पर्न्या काज बढिया, पिछा लिंछु भनि हामिले पातिरजमा
४. दि रणजीतपांडे ताहां काठमाडौं पठायाको हो, वांकि रणजीतपांडे पठायाको दसदिन देषि वढि गयो, आजसम्म आइपुगेन, आफ्ना मनोग्यले मात्र चिठी पठाउँदा रह्याछौ, वांकि तिम्रो चिठिमा
५. भारदार ठूला पठाउछु, स्यामराको हाड कविला, चाकर, धन्माल, दिगर्चाको धन्माल, केरुंगको साना-ठूला छिन्तापत्र २ त्यो सवै चाँडो पठाउ भन्याको आजसम्म आइनन, परंतु म च्यांजुन वडाले सव
६. प्राणि प्रजाकन धर्म करुवा राषि सांचो सहि गरि गन्याको छ, वांकि तिमिरूलाई पिछा लिन्छु भनि पार्तिज्मादि ... दिक्न अर्को तरह हामि गन्या छौन, उप्रांत म च्यांजुन वडाले धोस्त पारि संहार गरुं भन्या
७. सरासर आई गन्या थिजुं, आजसम्म फौज थामि श्री ले सन्सार प्राणिलाई रक्षा उद्धार गन्या हुन् र पिछा लिनु भनि हामि वस्याको हो, तिमिले हामिले त. विरायाको हो भनि सवै अफुले
८. बुभ्या बुभिकन पिछा पर्न र पिछा पनि लिंछु श्री का हजूरमा विन्ति गरि पत्र पठाइकन तिमिलाई बडो दयासित मानसिरोपाउ हुन्या र भलो सुष आनन्द हुन्या गरि वक्सौला, वांकि भन्या म च्यांजुन वडाले
९. फौज ल्याईकन नहुंदो गन्यालाई धोस्त पार्न आयाका हुन्. उप्रांत तिमिले उप्रान्तपरसम्म हामिले नहुंदो केहि गन्या छैन भनि रह्या श्री भन्याका पृथ्वीका छत्र जस्ता संसार प्राणिकन करुणा दृष्टि गरि

- १० रक्षा गर्न्या र विरायाको सब माफ गरिबक्सन्याछ, त्यो त साँचो भनि जान्या, अझ बढो मानवक्सिस, हुन्या छ, परन्तु आफु र आफ्नु काका: २ जाहाँ हाम्रा हजुरमा आया अज तस्माधिको वडो ठूलो मान
११. दया गरि बक्सौला, तिमिहरू केही डराउनु पर्दैनन्, बाँकि आफु र आफ्ना काका २ आउन नसक्या दहसत्मान्या तिमिहरूले अघि चिठिमा लेष्याको वमोजिम भारदार ठूला पठाइकन श्री कन विनतिपत्र र
- १२ सरसौगात पठाई दर्शन गर्न ज्यान्या र आउन्या हो, तिन आइ. अझ हाम्रा अम्बा २ जाँहा पठाई देउ र पिछा पर्नु भनि लेष्या छौं, त्यो त नहुन्दो कुरा हुन्, बाँकि म च्यांजुन काठमाडौं सम्म पावलाग्या हाम्रो
- १३ गति हुन्या र सब प्रकारले भलो हुन्या छ भनि लेष्या छौं, बाँकि कुरो तिमिहरूले निको गरिकन बतायाकौ हो. तर हाम्रो दस्तुरमा त्यस्तो हुन्या छैनन्, बाँकि पिछा लिँछु भनि पार्तिजमा दियाको सब संसार प्राणि २
१४. उद्धार होला गरुला भनि पिछा दियाको हो. बाँकि तिम्रा प्रजा प्राणि सबै दराई दहसब मानि रह्याको छ भन्दा म च्यांजुन वडाको मन्मा करुणा लाग्याको छ उप्रांत हामि त निश्चै गरि अधिका पत्र
१५. वमोजिम एक चित्त गरि पिछा पो पर्नु छ भन्या चाडो ३ गरि आयादेषि फौज लस्कर पनि फिराइ दिउंला. बाँकि ति बाटोको मात्र होइनन्, अझ कुतिको बाटा र फलाकको वाटो आयाका फौज पनि।
१६. वाटुलै एकैचोटि फिराइ दिउंला तसर्थ अझ पनि विलंभ गरि गर्नामा पस्या, तिमिलाई भलो गरुंला भनि करुना राष्याको, केहि हुन्या छैन, बाँकि फल्याकको वाटो आउन्या फौजले पनि पिछा लि काटि दिया त्यो
१७. षवर सुंदा तस्तै होला भनि दराई आउन सकिउन भनि लेष्या छौं. हामिले त फलाकमा गै वुभ्दा आजसम्म आयो भनि षवर सुनिजुन. बाँकि पिछा पर्न आयाको हो त आफ्नो चिठि पत्र हुनाले
१८. सोझै पिछा पर्छु भनि चिवा गर्न गया पछि त कटकको दस्तुर हुन् काटि पनि दिन्छन्. त्यो सबै भुठा हुन परंतु, तिमिले त साँचो गरि पिछा पर्न आयो त हाम्रो फौजको सदांरहरूले हाम्रा हजुरमा
१९. विन्ति गर्न अवनान्
२०. बाँकि विनाहकमा पिछा पो पर्न आयाको भया विवेक नगरि मान्या दस्तुर छैनन्. तसर्थ रणजित पाँडे गरी ४ भारा (दार) ले साथल्यायाका मान्छेलाई दयासंग वक्सीस गरि पठायाथ्यौं. हामिले केहि गन्याका छैनन्

२१. बांकि भोटु पाँडे नर्सि २ हाप्रा हजुरमा छ त हामिले वडो दयासंग वक्सीस गरि सुखसित रांष्याको छ, तत्तिको गर्दामा पनि आफु दराइकन क्या अर्थले उप्रांत चिठिमा लेष्या वमोजिम सहि मानि
२२. म च्यां जुन वडाले दया गर्नु हुन्छ आज्ञा मानि गर्छ भन्या चांडो ३ गरि मानिस पठया वढिया हुन्या छ अभ विलिंभ गन्या. आफुलाई आफैले विगार पर्ला.
२३. चिठिमा हामिले हेरि वुझिजुं, ति चिठि वमोजिम् गन्या वढिया हुन्या छ. सो वुझ. इति किमधिकं विज्ञेषु साल भाद्र १ शुद्धि १० रोज मुकाम धैभुंग काभ्रां शुभम्...

REASONS OF STATE: EXCLUSIVIST NATIONALISM AND BHUTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

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Making the Bhutanese foreign policy understandable is a difficult task for me, at least, for two obvious reasons. The first is that I am a Nepali who has studied the historicity of the state to state relations subsisting between Nepal and Bhutan in both spiritual and cultural terms. But I am amused to learn about the same traditional, spiritual and cultural heritage as being reasons for the Bhutanese state now to forcibly evicting the Bhutanese national of Nepali origins from their adopted home. The second is, I am finding myself in a very awkward position in defining and analyzing a state's foreign policy which, as a matter of fact, is "guided by the advice of the Government of India." My dilemma, therefore, is obvious: whose foreign policy shall I explain? For me these situations are still an unresolved intellectual puzzles. Reasonably because of this, I do not pretend impartiality in this paper. Nor do I claim that my views are the only objective interpretations of reality conversant with the Bhutanese state's foreign policy.

However, the reality is that Bhutan is a state. Likewise, it has a foreign policy crafted on the basis of the role and objective of state in the international community. Hence, there is a need to understand foreign policy behaviour with an "appreciation of goals and priorities, the internal and external constraints, and perceptions and expectations which guide", as Moon points out, the state action. Accordingly, "any theory of foreign policy behaviour must contain within it a theory of the state, however unconscious or incomplete (Moon 1992)."

Till recently, foreign policy analyses of smaller states were peripheral to the studies of international relations primarily because such states were insignificant unit of analysis in view of the significant issues confronting

Cold War politics. Smaller states were mostly treated as a group of states as falling under the sphere of influence, within certain alliance structure and concern for the hegemonic stability either of a world power or a major regional power. For example, a typical case of the foreign policy analysis of smaller states (primarily focused on the European context but with applicability in South Asian situation too) analogous to the pilot-fish behaviour which keeps "close to the shark to avoid being eaten" was the normative thrust defining the role of smaller states (Schulu and Olav 1971:33). South Asian states like Bhutan.(Nepal as well) were fortunate (unfortunate) duly because of geopolitics unfolding out of the Cold War envy between Capitalism and Communism that had broadly helped them secure their territorial and juridical statehood. The fundamental premises of the cold War being not to allow any state to fall under either camp perhaps have secured the territorial integrity and independence of countries like Bhutan by conferring international recognition through the United Nations (1971).

However, a crucial ingredient in the evolution of the foreign policy of Bhutan, and also of a majority of Third World states, is the organic shift in the world politics from colonialism to post colonialism. Independence of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947 has undeniably a lasting impact on the three critical questions of state-formation, state-building and 'national' independence and self-determination in the political processes of South Asian States. The moment of decolonization had eventuated both with disintegration as well as voluntary accession to the state of India. Trampled with the question of self-determination, irredentist claims and unresolved questions of nationalities the South Asian States continue to be in flux as they have not been able to find any alternative to the 'State system' pioneered by the West against whom they had waged the struggle for self-determination in the past. As the major states of South Asia, India as well as Pakistan, reverted back to institutionalizing the same process of state-formation their colonial masters had invented through monopolizing the central authority, state sponsored collective violence and coercion to ensure territorial integrity, regime security and control over resources in the name of inalienable sovereign rights of the state, the learning for the smaller states like Bhutan is complete with the availability of a ready-made formula of the state-building process. The basic feature of domestic as well as foreign policy of the Bhutanese state, however smaller it is in size in comparison to mega-states like India and others, is the same. Perhaps the

only difference in their approaches to domestic security and territorial integrity is that whereas Bhutan rely on the Indo-Bhutan treaty of 1949, the more powerful India has opted for a nuclear deterrence for the same purpose. Hence the nature of the state.

Nature of the State

Bhutan in my clumsy definition, is a monarchical state, not a constitutional state where the relations between the state and society is clearly defined. Though monarchy, in its narrowest sense, is only an "institutional expression of the state", it has continued to maintain its omnipresence as a collective urge of an "idea of the state" in a situation where the "physical base of the state" is the weakest. For Barry Buzan, the "idea of the state" remains the crucial component in the formation of the state as this concept incorporates the societal response to the sense of belongingness as well as togetherness of the people constituting the territorial state (Buzan 1983). The idea of the state, therefore, pertains to the state-society relations and the importance of social cohesion in the formation of a domestically coherent state. The fragility of social cohesion perhaps is the reason why Bhutan has also become one of the prominent refugees producing states in the recent years despite its territorial consolidation and expansion of physical base through exploitatin of hydel power in cooperation with India. Its claim of economic prosperity in the 1990s however is belied by the fact that it has foreited the citizenship to more than 135 thousand Bhutanese people by persecuting them to leave their homeland and refusing to share the resources appropriately.

Notwithstanding Bhutan's emergence as a coercively monopolistic state predominantly controlled by the patrimonial system under the absolute monarchy, it is constantly under the pressure of democratic ethos of the people and demands for self-determination, the two most powerful collective urges of the late twentieth century. As democracy has become a distinguish feature of the nationalist movement, the concern for the regime security has become synonymous to the state security to the institutional authorities in Bhutan. Articulation of the enemy within and to repress it under the domestic law by deliberately raising the spectre of external threat has been a classical approach that the Bhutanese ruling elites have beneficially adopted in the context of their failure to manage domestic crisis. Herein lies the relevance of Nepal to Bhutan in its search for an alleged outside detractor which, in the words of the Bhutanese king, has given shelters to 'anti-

nationals', provided "military trainings" to Bhutanese rebels and encouraged destabilizing activities inside Bhutan committed by the Bhutanese of Nepali ethnicity.¹

Bhutan is, no doubt, an interesting case so far the foreign policy behaviour of the state is concerned. Bhutan was closely bound to India before 1971; its diplomatic presence outside India was nonexistent; it has even requested for the deployment of Indian troops in 1971 (fearing the Chinese incursions during the Bangladesh war). After securing its membership at the United Nations in 1971, it expanded its diplomatic contacts with Bangladesh. It didn't bother to turn to Nepal, traditionally the closest ally, to establish even a "non-resident" diplomatic relations till 1983 after the informal advent of SARC in 1980. Bhutan, on the other hand, was quite assertive in presenting an independent identity apart from India. Its voting pattern at the UN since 1973 demonstrated a position which was not always pleasing to India. On issues like Cambodia and Afghanistan, the Bhutanese positions were diametrically opposite to Indian. Bhutan was in fact at the loggerheads with India at the 1979 nonaligned conference in Havana, Cuba. While returning from there, the king of Bhutan had left no ambiguity as such in his preference to a 1949 treaty revision during his Bombay stopover. What Bhutan had done by then was realistically assessed by Muni who suggested that "... without making the revision of the Treaty a major controversial issue ... Bhutan has tactfully rendered the restraining Article II ineffective by taking foreign policy initiatives without seeking, or abiding by, the 'advice of the Government of India' (Muni 1984: 519). The more distressful issue for India was the Bhutanese initiatives to independently negotiate with China on its long festering border problem. India had to reluctantly concede to the Bhutanese determination to go ahead with the plan in view of certain positive developments in Sino-Indian relations. As described by the Bhutanese foreign minister Dawa Tsering, these initiatives were taken as part of the "process of breaking the political and psychological barriers erected by many countries of the region. (Muni 1984:519)"

This quest for independent identity initiatives had led Bhutan closer to the position of Nepal vis-a-vis India, although these two states were never in identical situation in relations to their southern neighbour. The expansion of cultural and religious ties cemented by the monarchical affinity however has never been substantially strengthened by more tangible interactive processes of trade and economic transactions. Usually, the Druk

Air boards more foreign tourists from Kathmandu to Thimpu than Nepali passengers.²

But this warmth in Nepal-Bhutan relations soon disappeared as Thimpu decide to an unwanted population dumping policy victimizing the Bhutanese of Nepali ethnicity and forcibly evicted these domiciles under various pretext. An easy pretext to flushing these rejected people out was terming them illegal economic immigrants within the purview of a domestic law that, in the words of the Bhutanese Home Minister Dago Tsering, were as follows:

Any Bhutanese national leaving the country to assist and help the anti-nationals shall no longer be considered as a Bhutanese citizen. It must also be made very clear that such people's family members living under the same household will also be held fully responsible and forfeit their citizenship.

This government circular signed by the Home Minister on August 17, 1990 had indeed spread a wider net to identify the people it did not like and forfeit their citizenship making them the case for natural deportation. Bhutan's rights to expel and deport any illegal economic migrants or encourage migrant workers to the timebound development projects to meet the manpower gap or even absorb the foreign workers by providing them citizenship of the state is within its domestic law. But classifying a group of citizens "anti-nationals", "anti-monarchists" and "terrorists" overnight and labelling them as non-Bhutanese along with threatening their underaged and dependent family members with the denial of rights to citizenship is definitely an international concern. Again people like Tek Nath Rizal, Bhim Subba and their likes holding top ranking positions in the government of Bhutan were never illegal immigrant workers nor were and are they anti-nationals but their fate is no better than other 135 thousand people of Bhutan who are denied rights to domicile in Bhutan. About 100,000 of these people are presently living in Nepal as refugees and the rest are spread over the Indian Union.

The problem that the rejected people of Bhutan raised, besides the psychological trauma of the refugees, human tolls, and the relative socio-economic burden to the host country like Nepal, is the underlying question why have all those people whose culture, religion and ethnicity differed from those of the dominant ruling elites become a deliberate target of the

illegal economic migrants policy of Bhutan. Has multi-ethnicity, as elsewhere in South Asia, become a cause for identity crisis for Bhutan? Have the Bhutanese elites determined to transform the state into a composite whole of a homogeneous community consisting of a single race, culture, language, religion, possessing a common historical consciousness, a venture on which the majority of South Asian states and the multiethnic world at large has failed so far.

Assertion of monoethnic tendency is fraught with distrust and distress. It is conflict generating rather than conflict ameliorating process. It is a process that intends to use state power and exercise control by a dominant ethnic group with unintended effects of alienating the other nationalities of a multiethnic state and a policy inviting domestic chaos and foreign concerns. As there are cases of a strong reaction of the Indian government on the Fiji episode and actions on the Sri Lanka Tamil tragedies, it is but natural for Nepal to take a position on the refugees repatriation and mobilize support for the refugees cause which is definitely not "anti-Bhutanese" that the Bhutanese king along with his relations holding the high power positions in that state are spreading to impress the "shangrila-prone" Western world.

In both cases outlined above there is *a priori* in Bhutan's concern for an independent identity in the community of states. The positions it took independent of India in several international fora are inculcated as enhancing its concerns for national security and sovereignty. The same feeling is embedded in flushing out the unwanted population with direct fallout affecting Bhutan's relations with Nepal. In both these cases the concern for regime security and territorial integrity are the basis for the Bhutanese decision making necessitated by the need to concentrating the leverage of power and influence in the hands of centrally dominant elites. This motivated a need to constructing an idea of exclusivist nationalism grounded on the philosophy of the "land, race and faith" rather than promoting unity among diversity in the project of state-building through national integration.

Exclusivist Nationalism and Foreign Policy

The predominant thinking in Thimpu today, if king Jigme's words were to be believed, is the Bhutanese "struggle for survival" amidst the multiethnic demands for democracy and religious-cultural tolerance of the Bhutanese state. Out of generally accepted 1.4 million population comprising four major cultural groups, with whom had the king identified the Bhutanese

"struggle for survival", is really not clear. The reason being that the population figure 1.4 million, officially in use till 1989, was drastically revised to a lower figure of only 600,000 persons in June 1991. Was the previous figure just an exaggeration or the latter figure is concomitant to a thoroughly planned strategy of vanishing people?³ No one bothers to question what happened to these missing people. In view of the demographic nightmare facing South Asia one is starkly intrigued by this decline in the Bhutanese population. Or is this simply like a record of 74 million missing women in South Asia (Haq 1997:24)?

For me, the regime construct of population is simply the beginning of a version of reconstituting the Bhutanese state on the line of an exclusivist nationalism. In their project of constructing a homogenous state, the Drukpas as the ruling group found the Bhutanese of Nepali origins conspicuously different from themselves as well as the Sarchops and the people living in Duars, and numerically larger with the possibility of posing threats to the monarchy, the Lamanist tradition, religions and the law of the land as well. The Bhutanese people of Nepali origins' exposure to the outer world in comparison to the Drukpas themselves has been an additional cause for concern to a semi-theocratic state authorities in Bhutan. It is easier to draw a long line of distinction between Drukpas and the Nepalis in Bhutan by halting the earlier process of ethnic assimilation by the regime.

After the policy of nationalities' assimilation was abandoned, the state required to construct an identity from a multiethnic society to a religiously purified, culturally identical and racially similar, homogeneous state built on the ruins of dehumanized national ethos of Bhutan. In constructing a new identity, the Drukpas have adopted a process of counterposing of an imagined "self" against an "other". In every instance, it appears, even as nationalism celebrates community, society, unity, coherence and identity within the territorial boundaries of the state, it simultaneously casts various "others" as dangerous, treacherous, exploitative and alien. In this sense, the Bhutanese ruling elites have presented themselves as participant of the modernist discourse of the state which is inherently exclusivist and chauvinistic. Their attempt to fixate a new "national" identity has been increasingly met with all manners of resistance from the affected groups in domestic context. And their search for a new identity has energized movements based on ethnic, linguistic, religious and regional affinities cutting across the "national" boundaries, with explosive potentiality of inter-state conflicts.

On the other hand, in such an insecure domestic (self-inflicted) and regional environment (in view of South Asian ethnic turmoil), the Bhutanese elites are systematically violating all notions of human and intrinsic rights of its domiciles in consolidation of their project of 'national unity and national security'. In their project of preserving the Bhutanese identity, they have in fact fixated the "nation" in terms of singular, exclusivist narrative of the state by marginalising and oppressing all those "others" whom they despise as aliens, thus destroying even their provisional rights to exist within Bhutan. It disguised the ethnic cleansing policy under the pretext of a smaller state's (territory only 46,500 sq.km.) inability to sustain religious cultural and linguistic diversity by undertaking decisions to revise citizenship act, distort census, articulate Drukpa identity and transmitting it to the singular notion of "land, race and faith" by advocating uniformity in language, culture and religion. This self-preserving project perhaps was in mind when king Jigme asserted that his people are indeed struggling for survival.

Bhutan has been successful so far in manipulating the soft spot of the international community distinctly expressed towards the Lamanist tradition, Buddhist religion and the people of Tibetan origin as well because of their spiritual link with the Dalai Lama (at a time when "free Tibet" movement is on the anvil). The dedicated diplomatic offensive initiated by the Bhutanese monarch himself has brought many dividends. Foremost among them is the Bhutanese success in portraying themselves as the victim of a Nepali conspiracy. Reports (fabricated or real) published by the Thimpu newspaper *Kuensel*, and copied frivolously by some academic and journalists about the excesses committed by the "anti-nationals" including terrorist raids from across the border, murder, rapes, kidnapping, looting and arsoning, and their evident consequences in southern Bhutan have become a tourist attraction. The Royal audience to some academics and chosen journalists both from India and abroad has done the magic of turning the tide of sympathy from the actual victims to the predators. Bhutan's coopting of India through negotiating several agreements, including the *Chuka* hydropower project, is another success story in neutralizing New Delhi's role on the refugees issue and using India against the refugees whenever necessary which was evident in the Indian governmental actions against the refugees' marching back to Bhutan, their imprisonment and again pushing them back to Nepal in 1996. This Indian partnership has been based on the premise of integrating the Bhutanese economy, which in the words of

foreign minister Dawa Tsering, was an imperative. Accordingly, he surmised, "For a small landlocked country like Bhutan, a close relationship with India is vital for its survival as a nation and for the well being of its people."⁴

The active use of foreign policy by Bhutan to sustain the state's need of international identity relative to its domestic political and economic problems, in fact, is a study in contrast to that of Nepal. Amidst the international democratic upheavals, ethnic revivals and the growing discourses about people's versus state sovereignty couched in terms of the question of national self-determination, Bhutan has successfully consolidated feudocracy than giving up to the demands of the period. The timing it correctly choose to deal with ethnic revivalism (and demand for democracy) is against the background of state-centric anxieties growing in South Asia leading to a policy of repression rather than accommodation unleashed by the state power to prevent any eventuality of "national" disintegration. The determination of the South Asian states to foil the causes of instabilities advocated by the peoples's rights to 'economic, social and cultural development' and the phenomenon of the state-sponsored persecution of the people on the ground of 'race, religion and nationality' in the name of state security, stability and drive for homogeneity has largely created a grotesque scene of mass expulsion following the communal violence and the breakdown of civil order. But the state as the legitimate authority to use coercion and violence has always found the "other" namely the rejected people or the demanding people as the murderous hordes, which explains the case of "destruction" in southern Bhutan as projected by the Bhutanese state (Kumar 1995, Muni and Baral 1996, Khanal 1998).

Actually, Bhutan has benefitted by the default of India's failure to manage the long festering ethnic conflicts, particularly in the north-east. Repressive measures that India (the largest democracy in the world) has encouraged by even mobilizing the military apparatus of the state to contain domestic crisis have unintended effects on decision makings of underdemocratic regims like Bhutan. India's aversion to any semblance of militancy (armed or unarmed) has buttressed the Bhutanese resolve to suppress domestic dissent. And the stated influential opnions, though unofficial, in support of the Bhutanese state by a person like the former foreign secretary of India, J.N. Dixit, have endorsed Thimpu's measures of dealing with internal problem. When probed on the Indian response to the

possibility of militancy among Bhutanese refugees, Dixit had candidly responded by suggesting that,

If there is a move towards militancy, India would take firm and decisive action. Rather than ask the Bhutanese to take back the refugees, it would be more likely that we would suppress militancy. India's interest would be to quash it. We will not allow something that has a bearing on internal security to be resolved by resorting to diplomacy.⁵

For its own internal and external security reasons, India has also been maintaining a tight security cordon and surveillance system down from the Tawang trijuncture of the Sino-Bhutanese-Indian border in the north-east to the trijuncture of the Chumbi valley in the west, and the chicken neck where the Carkhaland militancy along with Bodo and a variant of other rebellions have in themselves become the Indian headache. Then how on the earth one can just imagine that those "poverty stricken, illegal economic migrants" to Bhutan from Nepal "who had again gone back to the refugee camps in Nepal to receive the charitable dole of US\$ 3 a day, which is more than the earnings of the average Nepali citizens" (note these are king Jigme's allegations), could have possibly wrecked the havoc in southern Bhutan by defying the security arrangement of both India and Bhutan? Disinformation is the game played both by politicians and diplomats. Any systematic analysis of the information filtering out of Bhutan requires one to scrutinize the nature of the state system diligently, not to report the sweet-talks delivered by the king or his foreign minister Dawa Tsering. As I have said in the beginning of this paper, I am at a loss to understand Bhutan. But are others, who had closely watched Bhutan from the *University of North Bengal* (Siliguri) or the *North-Eastern Hill University* (Sillong), also in my leage? Perhaps the scholarship on Bhutan in these two universities are near to objectivity than in my country where Bhutan is not a problem, only refugees are a burden.

Scholarship and Statesmanship

Scholarships on Bhutan, particularly, on politics of the Bhutanese state, are few and mostly fuzzy (Dutt 1988). Except from Ram Rahul's introductory work *Modern Bhutan* (1971) and Leo E. Rose's *The Politics of Bhutan* (1977), a book-length study on Bhutan is still a rarity. The merits of these

studies lie in understanding how has a theocratic state transformed itself into a monarchy after 1907. More recent studies are of different genre. Dhakal's (1994) voluminous work and Rose's article⁶, among others, are focused studies on the contemporary ethnic problems facing Bhutan. Dhakal vividly expresses his concern for the victims of state-led suppression of the "other" and the denial of rights to domicile. Rose, on the other hand, see the "principal obstacles" to the resolution of the ethnic problem in Bhutan predominantly as "psychological" in relations to the identity of contending groups rather than economic in nature and, by implication, the control of state power (by the Bhutanese of Nepali origin).

What then are the reasons for racial discrimination? Is a demand for democracy a threat to monarchy or an urge for the continuation of previous policy of cultural assimilation (even through inter-marriage) has damaged the process of racial purification? Without any serious inquiry into these queries, to seek answers could be at the most tentative. But a policy of racial purity in a multiethnic state could surely be aversive to the social cohesion. Bhutan has the evident lessons from around the world on the consequences of ethnic conflicts, particularly, while hosting the negotiations between the warring factions of Sri Lankan conflicts not so long ago.

The Bhutanese state, however, belied all the conventional wisdom of scholarship by dramatically inventing a cause to involve itself into an uncalled for ethnic imbroglio. The statesmen in Bhutan knew that their domestic decisions on ethnic cleansing will have far reaching implications on the regional ethnic equilibrium and repercussions on their relationships with Nepal. But they did not care about how Nepal will react on the issue. It was clear to them that Nepal remains on the lower rung of their foreign policy priority. In the absence of any tangible trade and economic interactions the need to be sensitive about Nepal in actuality does not arise. Practically, even the snapping of diplomatic relations by Nepal was not the Bhutanese worry. Such a Nepali decision would be complementary in hardening the Bhutanese position on the refugee issue by projecting the Nepali hostility.

The Bhutanese decision on ethnic cleansing has been thoroughly calculative, not a product of idiosyncrasies of its partimomial elites. Taking advantage of the Gorkhaland movement in India and by raising the bogey of "Greater Nepal", they worked seriously to take India into confidence on their project of state-building.⁷ They tied the economic interests of energy

starved India by successfully completing several water resources sharing deals and raising the Indian stakes in Bhutanese security and stability. A comparably advantageous geographical position and an alternative access to the sea led to further consolidation of Bhutan's relations with Bangladesh bilaterally. Bhutan's previously adopted pro-West policies were equally rewarding when it fired the shots. It also successfully used the closer monarchical ties with Nepal leading the latter to commit the first of a series of blunders in repatriating or secretly deporting Tek Nath Rizal in 1989 who was charged with criminal offenses in Bhutan.

Negotiations that were held on the Bhutanese terms since 1993 at the Home minister's level on the question of refugee repatriation which was not changed to the foreign ministers' level till the seventh round of negotiations in 1996, was another crucial lapse on Nepal's position over the refugee problem. More substantially, when Nepal agreed to the Bhutanese terms of incorporating the phrase "Bhutanese involved in criminal offenses" as one of the four crucial categories of verifying refugees living in the camps in Nepal, it provided a leeway to Bhutan to dabble on the issue and also call these Bhutanese involved in criminal acts as "anti-nationals" to forfeit their citizenship under the domestic laws. Negotiations, in fact, have stalemated after the seventh round in April 1996 and is yet to resume despite the Nepali foreign secretary's recent jaunt to Thimpu.⁸

To surmise, I would say that the Bhutanese state has successfully used foreign policy as an intricate instrument in fulfilling its domestic objective of ethnic cleansing. I personally appreciate the way in which the Bhutanese statemanship has used its Nepali counterpart as a pawn in the game of realising Thimpu's defined objectives. The delaying tactics it adopted while negotiating with Nepal and the nervous responses of the Nepali negotiators while being entangled on the issue have strengthened the Bhutanese resolve to gradually part away even with the negotiating problem. Bhutan has systematically analyzed and contemplated about the consequences of the Nepali state's position on the question of refugee repatriation. The negotiation option is now stalemated; request for the Indian mediation is not forthcoming; and internationalization of the issue, though, awaits political decision, now carries little sense with the time lapse. Preoccupied with the frequency of changing political equations and making and unmaking of coalition governments, Nepal has little energy left at the moment to concentrate on more taxing problems of bilateral negotiations with Bhutan.

Some Observations

My considered view on Bhutan is that a monarchy which is moreover guided by the Council of Ecclesiastic Affairs (Dratshang Lheshong) formed in 1984 to determine the affairs of a multiethnic state is bent onto turning the tide of any centrifugal pressure for secularism by celebrating Lamanist nationalism and reinventing the state as a Dragon Kingdom. Of course, for the hapless Bhutanese of Nepali origin, the draconian measures the Bhutanese state has taken after revising the citizenship act of 1985 accompanied by the *Driglam Namza* were like the dragon's bite. *Driglam Namza*, projected as Bhutan's national security ideology, in its cultural context, provides the state to retain its unique identity, hence independence and security. This concept of cultural purifications also provides an excuse to dispossess the "others" appearing to be incompatible in fostering the Druk national ethos. The records of the 71st State Assembly meetings in Bhutan, thus, clearly indicate:

The Home Minister pointed out that while different customs, languages and dresses added colour and enriched the culture of large country, for a small country with a small population like Bhutan, and which did not have the advantage of economic strength and military might, *different customs and languages would only erode the national identity and undermine the unity and security of the country.*⁹ (emphasis mine).

There never was and probably never will be a democratic space in the Bhutanese state under the self-defining elite Drukpa rule. Evidence to this could be found in the Bhutanese state's assertion of 1991 that the Royal government cannot "afford to discontinue the policy of national integration and the concept of one nation and one people. These policies are vital for ensuring Bhutan's longterm security and well being as a *united and cohesive nation* (emphasis mine). Such a policy posture is not only distinctly racist, it also belies the repeatedly asserted Bhutanese position that they have only deported the non-Bhutanese illegal economic migrants from Bhutan.

My conclusion, therefore, is that when many states have failed in their ethnic cleansing ventures, many are still war-ridden, and many had already disappeared as a consequence of such dehumanizing experiences, Bhutan perhaps may emerge as a homogeneous state and may survive as a monarchy thriving on powerful Indian bondage. But as some noted

American scholars, including Morgenthau, have said: "Nothing is permanent, but the national interest". The scholarships await to be proven true. Till then I would say, Deuce: Advantage Bhutan.

Notes

1. For the Bhutanese King's remarks, see his interview he gave to the *Times of India*, January 7, 1993, p. 20.
2. Evidently, if there are only a few Nepali passengers to be picked from Kathmandu on Scheduled flights, the Druk Air pilots do not bother even to land in Kathmandu. Rather, they will directly fly back to Thimpu from New Delhi. This happened last year when my friend Dipak Gyawali had to wait at the international terminal of the Tribhuvan Airport hoping to board the Druk Air to go to Thimpu to attend an international Seminar organized by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo. Later on, he was told that the airlines had flown directly from New Delhi to Thimpu without arriving in Kathmandu. He missed the seminar.
3. There are conflicting reports on population figures on Bhutan. Normally, the authoritative international documents had enumerated the population figure of Bhutan to be between 1.2 and 1.4 million. In 1979, the Bhutanese government information bulletin (*Bhutan: Himalayan Kingdom*) contained the population figure as 1.2 million. The Department of Education of Bhutan Stated the total population as being 1,375,000 in 1989. But these all became history after June 1991. Along with Drukpas (the dominant elite group), there are Sarchops, Nepalis, and the people of Indian cultural origins settle in Duars and southern foothills.
4. See the interview given by the Bhutanese Foreign Minister to the *Times of India*, September 7, 1994.
5. See his interview he gave to *Himal Magazine*, July/August 1994.
6. Rose (1994: 103-119), and also see Dutt (1988: 73-79).
7. As India's relations with all its neighbouring states in the 1980s were mired by controversies and disputes and even with China was not progressing satisfactorily due to the Tawang incident and the subsequent Chequered-board military exercise initiated by India, it was imperative for India to substantially improve its dealings with Bhutan. Even in comparison to Nepal and Bangladesh which were previously top aid receiving countries from India, Bhutan was fairing well in

Indian foreign policy drive. In his memoris, the former foreign secretary, J.N. Dixit has opined that "India has a responsibility to ensure that socio-political changes in Bhutan occur in an orderly and gradual manner. We must be supportive of the King and his government. Any abrupt destabilization of Bhutan or disruption of its institutions (meaning primarily the absolute monarchy) would constitute a serious strategic threat to India's security". See Dixit (1996:94). Prior to Dixit, his predecessor foreign secretary, Muchkund Dubey had also assured Bhutan that India will not allow any activities directed against Bhutan from its soils. "In more specific terms, we would extend all possible assistance that the Royal government might seek in dealing with this problem, and that we would prevent any group which wants to enter Bhutan illegally and disturb law and order." As cited in *Kuensel*, October 27, 1990.

8. Before the Seventh round, King Jigme in an interview to *Indian Express*, March 7, 1996 said that 99 percent of the refugees are not of Bhutanese origin, to preempt the talks. Earlier in an interview to BBC, he accused that the 'prime minister and other leaders of Nepali Congress are instigating Bhutanese of Nepali origin to leave their country and come to Nepal. Arms training is being provided in Nepal for terroristic activities against Bhutan. Indeed, Nepal is engaged in a conspiracy to divide Bhutan and set up an independent state. Nepal is providing shelter and encouragement to terrorists". (as reported in *Nepali Patra weekly*, April 22, 1993).
9. See the Bhutanese official weekly *Kuensel*, November 14, 1992 (71ST ASSEMBLY SUPPLEMENT).

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NEPAL'S INDIA POLICY UNDER COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN NEPAL¹

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The evolution of a political party affects its foreign policy. There are different modes of thinking on organizational evolution, concerning relations between official aims and organizational behaviour. The normative approach regards that the goal of the party determines its mode of action. A party, in its formative phase, is undoubtedly treated as an instrument for the realization of specific goals. In the course of its evolution which demands its involvement in exchange relations with most heterogeneous national and international environments, priority of the party is very likely to change from time to time. The oligarchic theory states that a process of "substitution of end" comes about in that "the official ends are abandoned and the organization's survival becomes the real end" (Michels 1962:336). Notwithstanding the lowest common denominator being the survival of the organization, the original goal of the party is closely associated with the identity of the party and also the legitimacy of its leaders. The concept of the "articulation of end" postulates that the original aims of the party is adopted and also pursued sub condicione to organizational needs (Panebianco 1988:16). The correspondence of a party's behaviour to its official aims is constantly reaffirmed by its leaders, but only those course of actions which are compatible with organizational's stability will be selected.

The Nepal Communist Party, Unified Marxist-Leninist (UML), popularly known as ML before it brought about the Marxist faction under its fold in January 1991, declared its foreign policy objective under the broader framework of Nepali "nationalism", directed against the structure of Nepal-India relations shaped by the Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950. In about 18 years since the formation of this party its role has changed from that of a revolutionary party professing Maoist line of one party dictatorship, to that of the main opposition party after the restoration of

multiparty democracy in 1990, to the ruling party after the general elections to parliament in November 1994. The formation of the UML government had stimulated Nepal's foreign policy, particularly in relations with India. Did the UML's original goal of 'nationalism' continue to guide the foreign policy behaviour of its government? Or would it give up its original objective for the survival of its minority government? Or would it strive a balance between its original goal and survival imperative? This paper attempts to examine the UML government's (November 1994 – September 1995) relations with India. Before analysing the communist government's foreign policy behaviour, an attempt is made here to observe how the UML's foreign policy goal was formed and developed over time.

Ideological Orthodoxy

At the foundation of the ML in December 1978, its ideology was virtually a carbon copy of the Maoist's line of *Naulo Janbadi Kranti* (New People's Revolution). The ideology of the New People's Revolution states that the communist party has twin enemies, feudalism at home and imperialism abroad. In the context of China, the Communist Party of China had got involved in war against Japan before it captured power. Mao had declared Chinese nationalism directed against Japan as one of the essential components of liberation. Following Mao's model, the ML equated the status of Nepal as 'semi-colonial' and it declared 'expansionist India' as the enemy of New People's Revolution in Nepal.² The communist predecessors of the ML had already demonstrated the perception of the Nepali communists towards India which was highly influenced by the spirit of the solidarity of communist parties of the world. From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, Nepali communists viewed India as a blind follower of Anglo-America imperialism" (Rose 1965:347).

As elsewhere, Nepali communists too had been affected by the Sino-Soviet rift. The ML belonged to pro-China's camp. It was one of the ardent advocates of China's policy towards South Asia. It was, therefore, critical of the Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971, a deterrent strategy against the expansion of China's role in South Asia. The emergence of India as a regional power and its "dominating and intervening policy" was considered to be a threat to nationalism in Nepal. New developments in South Asia after the Indo-Soviet treaty fueled to heighten the ML's objection to Gorkha recruitment in the Indian army, the open border between the two countries, the "unequal and humiliating" 1950 treaty between Nepal and India, etc. Working

underground due to ban on political parties during the partyless panchayat system, its voice was confined to paper- resolutions passed by the national conventions of the party. The party's front organizations demonstrated their support to the 'nationalist policy' taken by panchayat regime. During the stalemate in Nepal-India relations in 1989-90, the ML was critical against the Indian pressure on Nepal to make the latter abide "by letter and spirit" of the 1950 treaty. It, however, preferred to exploit the situation to bring about the fall of the panchayat regime through mass movement of 1990, launched jointly by the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front (consisting of seven communist parties.

Moderation

Following the restoration of democracy in Nepal, the ML's revolutionary overtures have reduced to pragmatism. It has gradually given up its original ideological orthodoxy and its policies and approaches that have constantly been modified and moderated towards liberalization and democratization. The emergence of the UML as a competitive and contestant in power politics rather than an ideologically hostile force against parliamentary democracy demanded change in its previous orthodox approach towards India. Indeed, in order to facilitate the party's pursuance for broadening its external relations beyond fraternal relations with communist parties of the world, it started using "friendly neighbour" instead of "expansionist" for India.

The moderation of the UML's outlook towards India, however, did not mean substantial change in its stand for restructuring Nepal-India relations. It continued demanding the replacement of the 1950 treaty by a 'no-aggression pact'.³ Besides, the party documents, i.e. resolutions and election manifestos, also reiterated its long demand for controlling the open border between the two countries and also its concerns on several other bilateral issues i.e. trade, transit, water resources, Indian immigrants. It felt that India was "insensitive to the national interest of the Nepali people"⁴. As the major opposition party in the first elected parliament after the restoration of democracy in 1990, the UML viewed that the performance of the Congress headed the interim government and Girija Prasad Koirala's government concerning relations with India to be quite disappointing.

The joint communique signed between Nepal and India on June 10, 1990 during the visit of interim Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai was, in fact, a prelude to the reinforcement of traditional relations between Nepal and India against the 30-year efforts towards neutralizing such relations by

the pachayat system. For the restoration of status quo ante to April 1, 1987 with additional concession for reducing value content from 80 to 65 percent on Nepalese manufacture exports to India, Nepal reaffirmed the validity of the 1950 treaty and the 1965 arms supply accord; accepted India's first policy on trade and development, and also the property right of Indian citizens in Nepal; removed the work permit system; and renounced the peace zone proposal.⁵ This joint communique worked behind the stance of the communists. However, while making the new constitution the communists insisted on provision of the ratification of treaty or agreement of long term effects by a two thirds majority of the joint session of parliament. The representatives of the communist parties in the Constitution Recommendation Commission declared that three factors had guided them to insist on this provision. One, the Nepali Congress would form the government after the general elections in 1991; second, the Nepali Congress was basically a 'pro-India' party; and last, India was not sensitive to the national interest of Nepal.⁶

Prime Minister G.P. Koirala's visit to India in December 1991 brought new controversies in bilateral relations specially on the Tanakpur barrage issue. The UML accused the Congress government for 'selling-out' to India on this issue. It challenged the government to follow the constitutional provision of treaty ratification by a two thirds majority of the joint session of parliament in regard to the Tanakpur issue. The mishandling by the Congress government of the Tanakpur case along with its failure to get India's cooperation in resolving the problem of Bhutanese refugees and the intrusion of armed Indian polices in Kathmandu were some of the sensitive issues the UML capitalized against the Congress government and also against India. In sum, from 1990 to 1994, the UML as a major opposition party, propagated about the image of Prime Minister G.P. Koirala and India to be insensitive to the national interest of Nepal. Exploiting the anti-India sentiment in Nepal, the UML propagated against the Congress and India during the general elections in 1994. Its candidates, particularly its president Man Mohan Adhikari went in record to stating that ... "If the Congress won the November 1994 parliamentary elections, it would convert Nepal into another Sikkim ..."⁷

Implementation

The UML with its 88 seats in the 205 members House of Representatives formed a minority government after the general elections in November

1994. Its election manifesto 1994 stated, "Unequal treaties and agreements shall be repealed and/or renewed for mutual benefit".⁸ Would it succeed in translating its promise to change in Nepal-India relations into reality? During visit of Deputy Prime Minister Madav Kumar Nepal (who holds the defence and foreign portfolios) to India on February 6-10, 1995, Nepal has opened up issue for restructuring bilateral relations. The UML's long demand for work permit system, control of open border, no-aggression pact, and the abolition of Gorkha recruitment system etc. did not specifically figure in his talks with Indian leaders. But the official proposal for a review of the 1950 treaty was understandably aimed towards a quest for change in the gamut of bilateral relations between Nepal and India. Some of the specific points requiring reappraisal or consideration that Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal raised during his meeting with India leaders were as follows:

- Review of the 1950 treaty (Articles 2, 6 and 7 of the treaty that provide for joint defence arrangement and equal treatment of the citizens of one country in the other).
- Package deal on the Mahakali river that consists of Sharada, Tanakpur, Pancheshower, and Chandari-Dodhara projects on the basis of equal cost and benefit sharing.
- Alternative transit routes for landlocked Nepal to Bangladesh via Phoolbari and Radhikapur, India.
- Further reduction in the proportion of indigenous content requirement in Nepali manufacture exports to India.

It is believed that the state of relations between Nepal and India in the coming days will be relatively different from that of the past. Some new factors are emerging in Nepal in favour of change in bilateral relations between these two countries.

Changed Situation

While urging an update of the 1950 treaty, Deputy Prime Minister Madav Nepal used a phrase 'in the light of changed circumstances'. This recalled the situation when the 1950 treaty was signed between Nepal and India. Aside of many factors, the treaty was mainly a product of putting together of various interests of Nepal and India- specifically India's threat perception from China and survival interest of the Rana regime in Nepal- in one

basket. The end of the cold war and increasing cordial relations between India and China has changed strategic dimension of South Asia from that of 1950s-70s'. Advocating that Nepal-India relations should also be reviewed to match with emerging global and regional developments it is said that "geo-strategies are prone to change depending on evolving situation".⁹ So far as the regime survival interest of Nepali rulers is concerned, there is consensus among the major political forces in Nepal on the present political system based on multiparty parliamentary democracy. How much India can influence the domestic politics of democratic Nepal may be a subject of debate. But, India has no longer 'anti-regime' card as during the panchyat days to brandish over the Nepali rules due to national consensus in Nepal on the basic rules of the game of politics. In this changed context, popular opinion in favour of change in the age old relations between Nepal and India is gaining ground.

Public Opinion

Public opinion in Nepal is in favour of change in Nepal-India relations. Democracy is a system of translating public opinion into public policy. The Nepali Congress obviously missed an opportunity to be seen as being responsive to public opinion in the country, concerning relation with India. The UML, on the other hand, had repeatedly highlighted its demand for restructuring Nepal-India relations. By its nationalist image, the UML has succeeded in expanding its bases of power in society, particularly among the emerging and growing educated middle class. The role of the middle class in disseminating opinion and ideas is more important rather than its numbers. This class has dominated the information network in the country, the more so in the capital, Kathmandu. The UML's overwhelming influence in Kathmandu is its asset which can be used to channel the flow of information from the centre to the periphery. The Nepali middle class has least personal stake in comparasion to the rich as well as the poor people in restructuring Nepal-India relations. This section of society is, therefore, highly sensitive to the question of national interest and nationalism, concerning Nepal's external relations. The future of the UML depends heavily upon whether the middle class continues to give its support or not. If the UML government succeeds in bringing to bring a substantial change in relations with India, it would be in turn license for it to rule over the country for other tenures.

New Elite

In the UML, the grip of power is in the hands of young leaders. Unlike the old Congress and Communist leaders, many of whom personally indebted to India for their educational and political background, most of the UML leaders have not such subjective feeling towards India. Besides, the ML worked in Nepal underground during the panchayat period whereas the Congress and the old communist parties were in exile in India. Viewing from the perspective of linkage between personal interest of decision makers and policy making, this factor explains the pursual of revision in relations with India by the new political elites of Nepal. Besides, as suggested above, the background and orientation of the UML is anti-India. The ranks and files of the party, with this political culture, would immensely wield pressure over their own government to make definitive changes in the structure of Nepal-India relations.

Political Equation

After the 1994 general elections, the House of Representatives with 205 seats was constituted by the UML's 88, the Nepali Congress's 83, the Rastriya Prajatantra Party' 20, and other's 14 seats. The strength of 20 seats of the Rastriya Prajatantra Party was most crucial in that if it forged alliance with the Nepali Congress, the Nepali Congress would have the required majority of 103 to form the government. Given this situation, the UML's political strategy was directed to keep the Nepali Congress and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party as far apart as possible. Its radical posture towards India is an important factor attracting the Rastriya Prajatantra Party to come closer to the ruling party than with major opposition party, Nepali Congress, on foreign policy issues. Besides the minority government was also dependent on the King for its survival. It must have the confidence of the King at least to preempt the midterm polls to counter the possibility of an alliance between the Nepali Congress and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party to bring about the collapse of the government through a no-confidence motion in parliament. The supreme Court (by its judicial review on the case of the recommendation of the then Prime Minister, G.P. Koirala to dissolve the parliament) had defined the King's discretionary power to prevent the move of the dissolution of parliament.¹⁰ The nationalist image of King Birendra got a boost when he agreed to dismantle the panchayat system at the time when he had to chose one between two hard alternatives: either India's proposal (the 83-pages long document submitted to Nepal on March 31,

1990)¹¹ for revival of traditional relations with new clauses which sought to erode the independence of Nepal, or and the demand of the mass movement (February-April 1990) for the end of the panchayat system and the restoration of democracy. Since it was imperative of the UML to have its certain political alliance with the King and the former panchas for the survival of its minority government, the panchayat legacy would definitely count to the UML government's India policy.

With these supportive factors mentioned above, the UML had formally proposed India a review of the bilateral relations between two countries. The need was creating favourable environment to move this proposal effectively. India's resistance to change is understood but it is beyond the focus of this paper. Here certain factors strongly bearing on this issue within the country need to be noted.

Consensus Building

The opposition parties did not oppose the government's proposal for the review of bilateral relations between Nepal and India. A general agreement on this issue is not enough. Consensus should be built in action plan to move forward the issue effectively. Indeed, the Constitution of Nepal clearly mentions that any treaty or agreement having long term effect must be ratified by a two thirds majority by the joint session of the two houses of parliament. In the total strength of both houses, the Nepali Congress had more members than the ruling UML. It was therefore a political and a constitutional imperative as well that the UML government should seek help and support of the Nepali Congress to make decisions on foreign policy. The UML's actions and behaviour had create problems in getting support of the Nepali Congress. Its strategy to keep the Nepali Congress and the Rastriya Parjatantra Party apart had directed it to distribute patronage among the supporters of the later party whereas intolerance to its supporters of the Nepali Congress. The government's intolerance to its close rival party, the Nepali Congress, leads to widen the gap between these two parties. The temperament of Nepali Congress's leaders/workers also appeared unhelpful to the UML government irrespective of the merit of the government's policies. Indeed, it appeared that the Nepali Congress was concentrating its energies in finding out ways to bring down the UML government. The given situation demanded a drastic change in the state of inter-party relations from both sides, the UML and the Nepali Congress, in order to effectively move forward Nepal's proposal for a review of its

relations with India. Otherwise, the work of consensus building in action plan towards revision of relations with India would be relegated from national priority because the question of the survival of the minority government could loom large in the coming days.

Survival of Minority Government

Is India a party in Nepali politics? India was one of the significant factors behind political changes in Nepal in 1951, 1960, and also in 1990. India's contribution in the later two instances were lesser in comparison to its role in 1951. Indeed, the India factor would substantially decline further in democratic Nepal because it is the Nepali people who form and change the government. But do the Nepali rulers, who are supposed to know the nuts and bolts of realpolitik, think so? The Prime Minister Man Mohan Adhikari said that the former Prime Minister G.P. Koirala had deliberately tilted towards India for his political survival.¹² This was an affirmative answer to the vital question whether India is a party in Nepali politics. If the UML government thought that its persuasion of revision in relations between Nepal and India would have negative repercussions on its survival interest, it was unlikely that the UML would sincerely pursue for the restructuring relations with India. In sum, the signals in regard to materialization of Nepal's proposal for the revision of its relations with India are mixed. Thus three possibilities can be drawn up concerning Nepal-India relations in the coming days.

Possibility 1

Nepal's proposal for reviewing the bilateral relations would be sympathetically considered by India. Some reporting by the print media in Nepal as well as in India can be cited here in support of this optimistic conclusion. The Rising Nepal stated that Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasinha Rao conceived that the 1950 treaty was concluded at 'a particular time and situation.'¹³ This thinking can be linked with the logic of Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal that the treaty should be updated in changed context. India, therefore, agreed to "discuss and examine" Nepal's quest for reviewing the treaty. The Times of India's reporting on February 8 and 9, 1955 gave hint about the possibility of India's positive response to certain points concerning the security issue.¹⁴

Possibility 2

"Indo-Nepal relations are passing through a tense period".¹⁵ Most of the Indian media saw the UML's attempt to shift Nepal's foreign policy as a prelude to deterioration in Nepal-India relations in the coming days. Some developments in favour of the review of the 1950 treaty were mostly confined to unilateral announcement from Nepalese side which was not confirmed by Indian authorities. India had taken clandestine silence to make any commitment on the points Nepal arised. The ending of Nepali Deputy Prime Minister's India visit without even a joint press statement gave hint of India's coolness to Nepal's search for change in bilateral relations between the two countries. Whether India likes or not, the official proposal for a review of the 1950 treaty by Nepal has brought India to the negatiation table. But it was very likely that India would buy time prolonging the negotiation. It would wait and watch how long the UML minerity government survives. India would make its stand clear as the situation developes in Nepal. Otherwise India could once again adopt its old streategy of prolonging the conflict till the date of expirty of either the trade or the transit treaty with Nepal. This possibility was high because Nepal put all contentious issues i.e. the 1950 treaty, water resources, trade and transit into one basket rather than dealing with each case separately. The past records show that India always acquires a better baragaining position by linking any conflictual issue with the trade and transit treaties. In such eventuality Nepal would have to helplessly comply with India's points of view. The same story may repeat in the coming days.

Possibility 3

The old story may not repeat. This possibility was drawn with the asumption that the negotiation between Nepal and India would go long, at least, to the date of expiry of either the trade or transit traty. Unlike the previous Nepali rulers, the communist government in Nepal might refuse to abide by India's point of view. Instead, Nepal's insistence for major changes despite of India's displeasure would naturally invite a state of confrontation between the two countries. That may go to the extent or beyond what happeneed in 1989. Being asymmetric neighbours the size and strength of Nepal and also the social, economic and geographical factors have limited Nepal's ability to resist Indian pressure. If such a situation araises, the UML would have two options. First, it would put on hold the proposal for major changes in bilateral relations to avoid confrontation with India. The

second option would be extreme and more unlikely that the UML government would go for outright confrontation with India. Because any possible coercive move by India might turn into a blessing in disguise for the UML to consolidate its position on the domestic front.

Realistically, in order to build the country's capabilities to face the fall out of conflict relations with India, Nepal has to develop its own resources, an effective supply system, and create more employment opportunities in the country. Restructuring Nepal-India Relations step by step rather at one go could be more conducive for mutual interests and benefits for both countries.

Notes

1. This paper was presented at the seminar on *India and Nepal: Aspects of Interdependent Relations*, Organized by South Asian Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, India on 27-29 March, 1995.
2. *Text of the Declaration of the ML, December 1978*.
3. *Text of Memorandum of the UML Submitted to Prime Minister G.P. Koirala*, December 1991.
4. *Text of Political Declaration of the UML*, January 1991.
5. Dhruva Kumar, "Nepal confronts its Self Image", paper present at the international seminar on *Interaction of Diplomacy and Domestic Politics*, Organized by Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, August 10-14, 1994.
6. See Krishna Hachhethu, "Transition to Democracy in Nepal: Negotiations behind Constitution Making 1990", *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, January 1994.
7. Quoted in Lok Raj Baral, "Changed system and Unchanged Elite Behaviour...", paper presented at *Nepal-India colloquim* in September 1994 organised by JNU, New Delhi, p. 9.
8. *Text of 1994 Election Manifesto of the UML*.
9. Lok Raj Baral, "Nepal-India Relations: Continuity and Change", Dhruva Kumar, (ed), *Nepal's India Policy* (1992: CNAS, TU, Kathmandu) p. 61.
10. *Text of the Verdict of Supreme Court* (on the Case of Prime Minister, G.P. Koirala's Recommendation to Dissolve the House of Representatives), Kantipur, September 13, 1994.
11. See "Appendix", Dhurba Kumar, op. cit.' P. II.
12. *Times of India*, December 1995.

13. *Rising Nepal*, February 9, 1995.
14. *Times of India*, February 8, 1995; February 9, 1995.
15. *Times of India*, January 23, 1995.

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RESEARCH NOTE

THE LEGENDS OF 'GAYAḤBĀJYĀ' OF PATAN IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

Nutandhar Sharma

Introduction

While collecting oral history of Patan in 1991, my attention was drawn to the legends of Gayāḥbājyā (lit. 'Brāhmaṇ named Gaya' in Newar Language). Those legends suggest that there was a remarkable figure named Gayāḥbājyā, who once lived in Sulimha, near Paṭaṇḍhokā. According to those legends he performed many unbelievable miracles in his day - these miracles compare favorably with the famous Jāmanā Gubhāju of Kathmandu¹ and Gunu Jhā of Mithilā². In socio-topographic scene, there were a tantric heroes in the three medieval kingdoms of the Kathmandu Valley such as Gayāḥbājyā of Patan, Jāmanā Gubhāju in Kathmandu and Siddhivanta Josi³ in Bhaktapur. In this article, the most intriguing of the legends are documented together with an analysis of who Gayāḥbājyā must have been. This contribution establishes the historicity of Patan counterpart.

The Legends

All the legends are more or less connected with tantra which I have collected in Patan⁴. These legends play of life and death, magical spell, interaction between high and low castes and the relation between teacher and disciple, thus give a clear picture of the medieval Newar society of Patan. These legends are presented in the simple language of a children's story, evocative of the way in which these tales are told by locals⁵.

The Story of Gayāḥbājyā

The history of Gayāḥbājyā. His name was not Gayāḥbājyā. Actually his name used to be Gayapati. Gayāḥbājyā was such a kind of person who did not have anybody except his mother.

He was by caste a Brahman so everyday he used to go for a bath. His place of bathing was Mr̥tyuñjaya ghāt at Saṅkhamūl (confluence of the two rivers, Vāgmatī and Manoharā). One day, as he was crossing Kumbheśvar on his way for a bath, it started suddenly raining by cats and dogs. He looked for a shelter from the rain. There was only one house of a Poḍe (untouchable in caste). Being a Brahman he did not enter the house of that very Poḍe. He kept standing outside the house.

Inside the house one child was vexing his mother very much. And so, the mother became very angry and stabbed her son with the kitchen knife. The child died immediately. Then the mother started crying. After some time, the father of the child came home. When he knew the incident that had taken place, he told her wife not to cry for it. The father took the child into a separate chamber (room) and made the child alive.

Gayahbājyā became very much surprised to see that event. He started to wonder what sort of training this Poḍe had to make his dead son alive again. After finishing his bath he became very curious to know this secret training.

The Poḍe was a Tantric. So many people used to come to his house to consult about their problems. Gayahbājyā also started to go to that place, but he never went inside the Poḍe's house. He just used to stay outside. Whenever the Poḍe looked at him, he used to go for his bath. It was his routine since a long time.

One day, when Gayahbājyā was standing outside the house, the Poḍe came to him and asked, "Why do you come here everyday? Why are you spying on me?"

The Gayahbājyā immediately asked for the secrete training, saying "What you have, give me."

"You are a Brahman and I am poor in caste so how can I give you anything?" replied the poḍe.

"That you must give me" said the Brahman.

"If you insist I will help you. Please come after four days with one bunch of *belpatra* (wood apple leaf)," the Poḍe said.

After four days Gayahbājyā went to the Poḍe's with the bunch of *belpatra*. Then they went to the Mrtyuñjaya Ghāt. The poḍe asked Gayahbājyā to bath first. After finishing his bath Gayahbājyā wanted to come out from the river. But the Poḍe stopped him. The Poḍe went to the platform called *tūgaḥ* kept for *śrāddha* (death ritual) and sat on it. He began to write a mantra (magic spell) on each leaf of the *belpatra* and threw the *belpatra* into the river and asked Gayahbājyā to catch and swallow them. It was a miracle that when Gayahbājyā had caught and swallowed every piece of *belpatra*, he knew all of the mantras.

"You brought this much *belpatras*, so the mantras are also this much." The Poḍe said and asked Gayahbājyā to go back home. But Gayahbājyā asked, "Well, I have gained the mantras, but not yet all *siddhis*, the spiritual powers. You must give me these powers as well."

The Poḍe said, "I can give you only mantras, not powers. If you need powers, go everyday early in the morning to Bhūḍī Gaṇeś (a deity of the eastern part of Patan who gives perfectness as people believe) and worship him". In this way Gayahbājyā used to go everyday to worship Gaṇeś. One day, after reciting his mantras there, the God appeared in front of him and asked, "What do you want?" Gayahbājyā replied, "I need *siddhi* (perfectness on the mantras)."

"If you want to achieve *siddhi*, go to Bālkumārī shrine on the night of the fourteenth day of dark fortnight (Pācahṛe) in March. The *ḍākinī* witches will come there at that night to prepare *mohani* (black shoot) during their tāntric puja. You must capture the black shoot at once," said Gaṇeśa.

Gayahbājyā went to Bālkumārī shrine at that night. After hiding himself, he waited. The *ḍākinīs* came to perform their puja. They placed three human skulls on the ground [as a fireplace] and on the

skulls a big earthen pot called *ḥ bhegaḥ* was kept in opposite way. After lighting a big light in the middle of the skulls they began to collect black shoot on the bowl. During this tantric puja the goddess Bālkumārī became very pleased and appeared before them. Just as the dākinīs bowed down to the feet of the goddess, Gayahbājyā snatched up the pot covered with black shoot and ran away to his house.

When Gayahbājyā reached his house where his mother was waiting outside for him. As Gayahbājyā entered the house, his mother closed the door, fastening it with an iron lock called *sikrī*. Since the lock was made of iron it had the power to prevent witches and evil spirits from entering the house. The Dākinīs came there following Gayahbājyā, but they could not enter the house. They waited and waited outside hoping that they could get back the bowl with black shoot. By the morning they urged with Gayahbājyā for just a piece of earthen pot with black shoot. Gayahbājyā agreed. He gave them a piece of the pot and send them back.

After putting the black shoot from the bowl on his forehead, Gayahbājyā attained siddhi, and several kinds of powers and fulfillments. He became a great Tantric.

This first legend maintains that Gayahbājyā was just not a legendary figure but a historical figure as well. Although he was a Brahman but his guru was a Poḍe by caste. He learnt tantra from his Poḍe teacher and became a great tantric of his time. According to this story he is also known as Gajapati.

The Second Story of Gayahbājyā

And so Gayahbājyā attained all kinds of power and siddhi and it was known to the people of Paṭukva quarter (one of the Vakanimha clan of the Rājopādhyāyas). The Paṭukva people talked about it and decided to give Gayahbājyā one of their daughters in marriage on the condition that the first son born be given to the Patukva clan.

After the marriage a child was soon born, and the boy was given to the Patukva clan and was named by Viśvanātha Upādhyāya. He later became the guru (preceptor) of King Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan.

As Gayahbājyā was full of learning many people used to come to learn something with him. Gayahbājyā used to require his students always to bring a gift for their guru, whatever they wanted. And if they only had a stick, they should bring that to their guru, Gayahbājyā.

One day some of his young students went to collect firewood for his guru. They were playing along the way. When they reached on the Phulchokī Mountain they climbed a tree to collect firewood.

Just at that time in the middle of the day all the Aṣṭamātrikās (the mother goddesses from Harasiddhi dance and thus were also called Harasiddhigaṇ) gathered around the tree and started to perform their *nityakarma* (daily ritual) and dance.

When the goddesses finished their dances and left the children ran back home. But when they reached their home it was already dark so they could not attend their classes with their guru, Gayahbājyā.

The next day when Gayahbājyā asked them why they had missed their classes, they told him the incident took place yesterday. Then Gayahbājyā asked them to show him the place where the goddesses had gathered. They went there together and climbed a tree in wait for the Aṣṭamātrikās.

When the Aṣṭmātrikās goddesses appeared, Gayahbājyā placed a *tāraṇ* (a tantric invisible wall) around them. After performing their *nityakarma* and dance they could not leave that place because of the tantric wall.

"Who blocked our way?" asked one of the goddesses. Gayahbājyā said that it was he who had blocked their way, and then Gayahbājyā asked them who they were. When he heard they were mother goddesses he asked them to come with him to Patan.

The goddess answered, "If you can provide us a human sacrifice every step of the way, then we will come with you and stay with you until you die!"

Gayahbājyā agreed to this and began sacrificing his young students to the goddesses. But just as he sacrificed a student, Gayahbājyā would bring his student back alive with his *mṛtasañjīvanī mantra* which was learnt from the Poḍe teacher. In this way Gayahbājyā brought the Aṣṭamātrikā to Pimbahāl in Patan.

There at Pimbahāl the goddesses asked Gayahbājyā to provide them a place to perform their *nityakarma* and dance called *akhāḍā*. For that Gayahbājyā gave them the courtyard behind the Candesvari Temple. It came to be called Ākhānani.

After the death of Gayahbājyā the Harasiddhigaṇa returned to the same place at Phulcokī Mountain⁶.

The second legend tells us that Gayahbājyā, who was supposed to be the master over life and death, brought Harasiddhi goddess from Phulcokī Mountain to Patan. Išvarmānī Sinyā has written similar story in his article "Harasiddhi nṛty- ek paricaya" with slightly different facts⁷.

Bringing Caṇdesvarī to Patan

It has been necessary to perform the Harasiddhi dances every twelve years on the twelve different squares in Patan since the time of Gayahbājyā. During one performance on the *dabū* (platform) of Ikhālaku square, the famous goddess Caṇdeśvari of Banepā (about 20 km east from Patan) was present).

She was one head taller than anyone else on the audience. Gayahbā noticed this and started to wonder who it might be.

Meanwhile the goddess transformed herself into a snake, which Gayahbājyā noticed and immediately caught and put into his sleeve. He imprisoned the goddess for seven days and seven nights with a *tāraṇ*, a tantric spell for invisible wall to stop her movement.

On the seventh day the frustrated goddess told Gayahbājyā that if he freed her, she would stay anywhere he desired.

So Gayahbājyā established the shrine of Caṇḍeśvarī near his house at Sulimha. And at Ikhālakhū, where Caṇḍeśvari had watched the Harasiddhi dance, another shrine to Caṇḍeśvari⁸.

In this third tale, the goddess Caṇḍeśvarī was forced to remain in Patan near the house of Gayahbājyā.

Gayahbājyā and His Poḍe Guru

Once Gayahbājyā was walking near the Patan Palace, when he saw his Poḍe guru (teacher) coming towards him. According to the social customs of that time, the pupil should bow down to a guru touching his feet with his forehead to show respect. Likewise, there was also another social custom that the Poḍes are untouchable for the clean castes like Brāhmaṇ and Kṣatriya. For a person like Gayahbājyā, who was Brāhmaṇ by caste to bow down to a Poḍe's feet would, certainly be considered a social offense. Since the street was full of people, Gayahbājyā cleverly acted as if he slipped on cow dung and fell down to his Poḍe guru's feet. It was his trick to bow down to his guru's feet. The guru understood the situation and became pleased with Gayahbājyā. Afterwards, the guru told him that it would not be necessary to bow down to his feet in front of other people as it was breaking social custom⁹.

The fourth story suggests that during the time of Gayahbājyā, caste system had already been imposed in the Newar society and it had strongly rooted and flourished in that society.

Another Story of Gayahbājyā

Once Gayahbājyā was sitting in the rest house called Amāliguṭhī phalcā of Sulimha and smoking hubble bubble. Many people were running towards Mangal bazaar. He was surprised and asked one of them why they were running. One of the men said, "One foreign magician is showing a magic which is very interesting. We are going to see that magical show."

The magician was showing an item in which he kills a boy and takes out his heart and lungs. Then he claims proudly that only he can make the boy alive again.

At that time Gayaḥbājyā sent some of his students to fetch water in a *dokocā* (basket made of bamboo) from Maṅgahiṭī, fountain in Mangal bazaar. As a *dokocā* is a basket with a lot of big holes, it is not possible to carry water in it. Because of the power of the mantra of Gayaḥbājyā, however, it became possible. This was also a matter of surprising to the people, and many of them started gathering around them to watch the carrying of the water in the *dokocā*.

The magician thought that if it continued like this then there would be no charm to his magic, so he threw a small stone into the dokoca after casting a spell or mantra. As a result of this, all the water spilled out on the ground and it was not possible to keep water in the *dokocā* anymore. The followers of Gayaḥbājyā returned and told Gayaḥbājyā what had happened to them.

At that time a buzzard flew into Mangal bazaar and snatched the heart of the boy from the foreign magician's hands. Now this was a big problem for the magician. He wept because he could not make the boy alive again without the heart.

In the meantime it was suggested that the magician should consult Gayaḥbājyā about his problem.

The magician went to Sulimha to meet Gayaḥbājyā, but he was not there. Only the wife of Gayaḥbājyā was present there. She was cooking rice using her own leg as a wood for the fire.

After introducing himself, the magician asked if he could meet Gayaḥbājyā. The wife of Gayaḥbājyā told him to go to Lagankhel forest where Gayaḥbājyā was tending his cows.

So the magician went to Lagankhel. There Gayaḥbājyā was feeding his cows, bending the branches of the trees with his tow so that the cows could eat the leaves. When he saw Gayaḥbājyā the magician apologized for throwing the stone in the *dokocā* of Gayaḥbājyā's students. He asked Gayaḥbājyā to pardon him and to give back the heart of the boy.

Gayahbājyā smiled and then gave back the heart of the boy which he had taken disguised as a buzzard.

This fifth myth is the most popular myth of the Kathmandu Valley. Not only Gayahbājyā but also Mañuvajra Vajracharya performed this type of miracle¹⁰. This Vajracharya is also known as Jāmanā Gubhāju of Kathmandu from the time of King Pratap Malla. Another Mañjudeva from Cukabahāl, Patan is also credited for this type of miracle who was from the time of King Siddhinarasimha and his son King Śrīnivāsa Malla¹¹.

The Story of Impossible Eclipse of the Black Moon

Could there be an eclipse of the moon at night when there is no moon? Yes, and Gayahbājyā not only could predict it, but he could also make it possible. For this he was famous.

Once one of his pupils, a Jośī by cast (astrologer) who was also a *yajamāna* (client) of Gayahbājyā, mistakenly predicted such an impossible eclipse in the writings which were posted publicly on a black board called *gvalah*. Everybody was very surprised to hear of the notion of an eclipse on the night of the black moon. Especially those who knew a little about astrology began to laugh at the Jośī.

This news even reached to the king, who summoned the Jośī to inquire about the incident. But the Jośī was not ready to admit his mistake. He insisted the king that there would indeed be an eclipse on the coming night of the black moon. The king then decided that if the Jośī was deceiving him he would punish him severely.

Now the Jośī had a big problem and he went to Gayahbājyā to help him and to solve it. After listening to the whole story Gayahbājyā said to the Jośī, "Do not worry, what you have written will certainly come true. The moon will eclipse on the black moon night."

On the evening of the black moon, the king and all of his subjects gathered in Lagankhel to watch what would happen. Gayahbājyā also came there, having brought with him two *catāmarīs* (round bread made of rice flour).

Gayahbājyā then threw one of the *catāmarīs* into the sky. He cast a spell (*māntra*) and the *catāmarī* turned into the moon. In this way the moon was seen even on the night of the black moon.

Then he threw another *catāmari* into the sky, one which he had taken a bite out of. This became the black part of the moon. And the part which he had eaten became the brighter part of the moon. Consequently, the moon eclipse was obviously seen by all, including the king and the subjects who had gathered at Lagankhel¹².

The previous legend suggests that there was a close connection between Gayahbājyā and his client a Joshi or astrologer. In Gayahbājyā's Sulimha, there is an esoteric shrine, which is said to be connected with Gayahbājyā, and is still in the hands of descendants of Gayahbājyā. The Rājopādhyāya Brāhmaṇs of Sulimha Square and the Joshis of Nāgbahāl dispute ownership of the property.

Gayahbājyā and Lāmā of Lhāsā

After having renovated Gujibahā [one of the main Buddhist monasteries of Patan situated near Sundhārā] and set up a system of rules, Vaiśradeva performed the tonsure ceremony of his two sons, Candra and Sūryadeva. [In that tonsure ceremony] Vaiśradeva acted as a guru and his elder brother, Gayobhāju [Gayahbājyā], acted as a preceptor (Upādhyāya). [In this way] the two brothers accomplished all the necessary rituals.

Afterwards, an esoteric shrine (*āgama*) was built and the icons of Śrī Hevajra and Nairātmā were installed inside by Vaiśradeva. [Whereas] Śrī Harasiddhi [a goddess] was established by Gayo bhāju ('bhāju' is a respective word in Newar language like Mr. in English). [Later on, the elder brother] Gayo bhāju donated his share of ancestral property to the goddess Harasiddhi. [The younger brother] Vaiśradeva donated his share of property to his esoteric god (e.g. Hevajranairātmā).

Afterwards, Suryadeva (the second son of Vaiśradeva) went to Lhāsā (the capital of Tibet) accompanying a celibate monk of Ibahī, Patan. After some time, they reached Lhāsā, where they stayed to serve and please a learned lāmā. They learned (Buddhism) from him. [After their

graduation] the monk of Ibahī asked his Lāmā teacher to leave [Lhāsā]. He also talked with his friend Sūryadeva and came back [to Patan]. In the mean time, Sūryadeva sent a letter through the monk to his father Vaiśradeva [about his future plan].

After his arrival in Nepal, the monk gave the letter of Sūryadeva to Vaiśradeva and also told him what was going on there [on his son's mind]. After reading his son's letter, Vaiśradeva did the necessary preparations to establish icons of gods at his place [as per the letter].

When Sūryadeva came back to his house walking day and night from Lhāsā, he bowed down to his parents' feet and had a pleasant meeting with his family. He also went to bow down to this uncle Gayo bhāju's feet in respect.

[While walking on a street,] suddenly, Gayobhāju was feeling anxious himself and started worrying that something bad could happen in the future while [his nephew] Sūryadeva was ready to establish the icon of Śrī Trailokyavijayā goddess brought from Lhāsā inside the esoteric shrine of Gujibahāl where the icons of Śrī Hevajra and Nairātmā were already established. Meanwhile, when Gayo bhāju arrived at Sihatāphu, the Lāmā of Lhāsā also arrived there. They met together and started talking about religion (Dharmaśāstra). In the meantime, while they were talking Vaiśradeva performed installation of the icon of Śrī Trailokyavijayā goddess in his viihāra. This incident was known by the Lāmā through his insight (*antardhyān*). Consequently, the Lāmā became very angry and condemned Vaiśradeva and Gayobhāju as well as their descendants, warning them that if they ever visited Lhāsā they would meet with harm. And the Lāmā went back to Lhāsā¹³.

Although Gayahbājya was a Hindu, this legend connected with his younger brother Vaiśradeva who was converted into Buddhism shows his great respect towards Buddhism. During every five-year-Samyakdān-festival of Patan, a member of the lineage of Gayahbājya has to participate there representing Lord Brahmā reciting the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda. For this, he receives *dāna* (donation) from the devotees.

The Dyaḥmaṛu Phalcā of Candēśvari

Inside the temple of Candēśvarī there is an empty niche without an icon of a god which is connected with the story of Gayāḥbājyā.

Once Gayāḥbājyā wanted to attain *samādhi* while taking refuge in his house in Sulimha. He told his family not to disturb him for six months and went down into the room which was underground. He also asked his family to cover him up and wait for six months before exposing him. He said if he recieved spiritual powers and fulfillment, called *siddhi*, during this time an icon of him should be established in the empty niche of the Candēśvarī Temple.

Unfortunately, however, on exactly the last day of the six months, one of his daughters went to see him. As the days were not completed, she saw Gayāḥbājyā in a form half stone-half human. His upper body above the stomach was pure human flesh, but his lower part was stone. Gayāḥbājyā cried to her to cover his body immediately. He condemned her and her descendants.

In this way the niche in the Candēśvarī temple remained empty until today.

According to the legend Gayāḥbājyā wanted to be a *siddha* and stay with the god inside the temple in a separate chamber for ever as an immortal being. But, as it happens with impossible dreamers, he failed. Satyamohan Jośi comments in his article that Gayāḥbājyā's conceit to be installed beside Ganeś failed¹⁴.

Bringing Harisiddhi Back

As it was promised by the goddesses of Harasiddhigana to Gayāḥbājyā, the goddesses all left Ākhānani for their home at Phulcokī Mountain after the death of Gayāḥbājyā.

This was known by Viśvanātha, the son of Gayabhajya, so he went to Phulcokī Mountain to try to bring the Harasiddhi goddesses back to Patan.

Vaśvanātha found the goddesses performing their daily ritual. He interrupted them to tell him of his wishes to bring them back to Patan.

In the past it had been necessary to sacrifice one human being for every step which the goddesses took to come back to Patan. Whereas Viśvanātha was able to convince the goddesses to accept only a goat for each step in place of the human sacrifice. The goddesses, however, said they would only keep walking to Patan until the first cry of a cock was heard.

Under these terms Viśvanātha started to bring the Harasiddhigaṇa towards Patan, but very soon the cry of a cock was heard. The goddesses settled in that place, which came to be called Harisiddhi.

The previous myth suggests that Viśvanātha Rājopādhyāya, the preceptor of the founding king of Patan, Siddhinarasiṃha Malla (1619-1952 AD), followed the path laid by Gayahbājyā. It also indicates that Gayahbājyā was an important figure in the religious history of Patan.

The Social Topography of Gayahbājyā's World

Even today the myth of Gayahbājyā lives on and the places where he worked his wonders can still be visited. There is a house of Gayahbājyā at Sulimha where his descendant Sūryanātha Rājopādhyāya is residing. Inside the house, there is still a room, Gayahbājyā's room, which remains locked still. Besides the house, there is an *āgama* housing the esoteric shrine of Gayahbājyā. The Sulimha Rājopādhyāyas, one of the six branches of Brāhamans in Patan, are worshipping there in the *āgama*.

A little south west of Sulimha square nearby Pimbahāl *pukhu* (pond) there is found a temple to Caṇḍeśvarī, a three story pagoda. One of the ground floor chambers is dedicated to Ganes, the other remain empty ("*dyah maru*" literally "no god"), as Gayahbājyā did not become *siddha*. Between the two chambers there are three holes; the triangular one representing Caṇḍeśvarī or Nasaḥdya, the others representing Bhairava and Bhairavī. Just on the backside of the temple of Caṇḍeśvarī there is Ākhānani, the courtyard where Gayahbājyā is said to have brought Harasiddhi.

In the middle of Sulimha square, there is a temple of Ratneśvara with a Śiva-līṅga, a two-storied pagoda which is connected to the esoteric shrine of Gayahbājyā. The wood-carving of the temple is remarkably fine. In front of the Ratneśvara temple, there is a *phalcā* (rest house) of Āmaliguthī, established by the Jyāpus of neighboring Mikhābahāl. Once a year during the

month of Maṅsir *āmālī* fruits and beer used to be offered here to the untouchable Podes and children.

Niels Gutschow comments on the place of Gayahbājyā which is worthful to cite here:

“One must remember that the entire ensemble at Sulimha, together with the Ratneśvara temple in the middle, arose at precisely the time when the figure of Gayahbājyā was ripe to become a legend. It was a commemorative architecture and one which lives on”¹⁵.

Not only that, geography of the Gayahbājyā's legends extends beyond his own northwestern quarter of the city touching many parts of Patan. There is still Mṛtyuñjaya ghāt at Śaṃkhamūl where Gayahbājyā used to bathe daily. There are also the woods at Lagankhel where he used to tend his cows. Poḍe tol of Kumbheśvara is still there where his guru's house was. We have Bhūḍi Ganeśa shrine on the eastern side of Patan where he observed penance, and the awe-inspiring shrine of the mother goddess Bālkumārī at the eastern end of the city where he worshipped and outfoxed the frightening *dākini* witches to acquire magical powers. There is Ikhālakhu Square and Caṇḍeśvarī shrine in Patan where Gayahbājyā imprisoned the goddess Caṇḍeśvarī. We have Gujibahā near Sundhārā where Vaiśradeva, the younger brother of Gayahbājyā once resided. Not only that we also have a stone marker at Phulcokī Mountain from where the Harasiddhi dance was brought by Gayahbājyā.

A Report on the Excavation of the Ground-floor-room of Gayahbājyā

According to Satya Mohan Jośī, an excavation of the ground floor room of Gayahbājyā's house was held on a day before Lakṣmīpūjā festival in 1950 AD¹⁶. The excavation, however was unscientific, done by the locals under the leadership of Pt. Chandrakānta Rājopādhyāya. For this purpose, a Jośī (astrologer) had declared a *sāit* (an auspicious time). On the auspicious time Brahmans performed their rituals of *Nāga Sāadhanā* (worshipping of snake-god) before trenching. Hundreds of people gathered there to see the consequences. While digging they found an underground passage and a room. They also found several things inside the room but they could not find the stone statue of Gayahbājyā which they were searching for. In the last, the trench was filled with underground water and the searching was stopped.

Who is Gayahbājyā and When Did He Live?

Although there are some articles written about Gayahbājyā, the identification of Gayahbājyā is still a problem. Satya Mohan Jośi writes Gayahbajyā's formal name is Yogendrananda, a poet of that time¹⁷. In support of this asertion he has not provided any reliable documentation in his article. He also describes in his article that Gayahbājyā actually was a "gvājyo bājyā" (literally "foolish Brahman") and only latter on became a scholar. This is why people started surprising him and by calling out "gayo bājyā" (literally "what sort of Brahman!") instead of "gvājyobājyā". In one legend, the introduction of Gayahbājyā is given as such: "His name was not Gayahbājyā. Actually his name used to be Gajapati (Gayapati)". Here, the name of Gayahbājyā is spelled as Gajapati. In Nepali language, the letters 'ya' and 'ja' are interchangeable such a *yajña* or *jajña* and *yuddha* or *juddha*. Thus, the name of Gayahbājyā seems to be either Gajapati or Gayapati.

Dr. Gutschow who has researched on this topic believes Gayahbājyā did live once and must have been remarkable figure¹⁸. Moreover, he comments:

"The key story at Mrtyuñjaya Ghāt where Gayahbājyā seeks power over death suggests the central theme of the Gayahbājyā legends, the quest for immortality. The setting at Mrtyuñjaya, which literally means "conquering death", echoes the theme of the plot. It is the epithet of Śiva who overcame death, whom Gayahbājyā seeks to emulate when he asks the untouchable at Mrtyuñjaya Ghāt to grant him siddhi-tantric powers. The powers over death are not easily gained. However, after having learned mantras from the untouchable Gayahbājyā must still outfox the frightening *dākinī* witches in order to acquire magical powers. In another story when a travelling magician exhibits similar powers over life and death, Gayahbājyā must clearly demonstrate the superiority of his own unbelievable and hard-earned powers. The magician resigns never to come back to Patan, the city of Gayahbājyā.

...This history of a great tantric, the master over life and death, who was able to outwit the Gods and force his will upon them, although he ultimately failed in his attempt for the highest perfection, the transcendence of this life. This occurs in his unsuccessful attempt of attain *Siddhi* (fulfillment) by closing himself up in his house in state of *samādhi*. But perhaps this failure is important to his myth-it gives his mortal flaws. He is not worshipped as a god at the temple of

Caṇḍeśvarī and the temple room reserved for Gayahbājyā remains empty. We understand that he was still mortal like you or I”¹⁹.

Three independent historical documents make reference to Gayahbājyā and seems establishing him as a historical personality not only as a legendary person. Most significantly in a document of NS 589 (1468 AD) published by Mahesh Raj Panta²⁰ preserved in Reel no. E 1887/16 of NGMPP (Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project), the name and address of Brahman Gayapati is clearly written: “...Śrī Solahanimha dvijavara Śrī Gayapati...” (Brahman Gayapati who lives at Sulimha). This is supported by Mahesha Raj Panta’s published colophon of a drama named ‘Caturāṅka Mahābhārata’ written by Gayapati of Patan²¹. This drama with four episodes was written on the occasion of *Suvarṇa Tulādāna* held at Pasupati on the name of prince Rāya Malla who was at his age of two years and nine months, in NS 573 (1452 AD) during the reign of Śrī Jayayaksa Malla²². In that colophon Brahman Gayapati describes about his lineage, “The Sun of lotus like Tejobarddhan lineage, there is an *agnihotrī* (worshipper of fire) Śrī Tejaharśa who is the son of Śrī Tejarāma, who worships *pañcāgnī* (five types of sacrificial fire), who knows the (four) Vedas well. His (Tejaharśa’s) son is Rudradāsa. His (Rudradāsa’s) younger brother is Paṇḍuka. His (Paṇḍuka’s) younger brother is scholar Gayapati. This was made (written) by him (Gayapati)²³. In addition, the colophon continues that Gayapati was a scholar of Dakṣiṇa Vihār Court of Patan. At his time the three Mahāpātras (nobles), Udaya Siṃha Malla Varmā, Jñāna Siṃha Malla Varmā and Dharma Siṃha Malla Varmā, were ruling Patan. These nobles asked Gayahbājyā, in front of other petty kings of Nepal, to write a drama on mahābhārata and to present it during the *tulādāna* ceremony of (prince) Rāya Malla at Pasupati²⁴.

Another stone inscription dated N.S. 572 (1451 AD) lying close to the temple of Narayana in Lubhu, two miles east of city Patan also mentions that Gayapatiju (‘ju’ in Newar language is a respective form like Mr. in English), as a priest who had established the temple²⁵.

Rolamba has published a photograph of the colophon of a book on Harasiddhi dance written in N.S. 653 (1532) mentioning that the book belongs to Gayahbājyā was given *dāna* (donated) to the priest by himself in NS 709 (1588 AD)²⁶. Unfortunately, this (second) part of the colophon of the book was added later in a different ink and handwriting, thus, the colophon seems not to be reliable to our study.

In sum, I want to call attention to the above submitted both oral and written evidences on Gayahbājyā. Both pieces of evidence corroborate each other, testify and identify him as a scholar and master of tantra of 15th century, because of the similarity of the name, by caste and locality given in the historical documents and legends as well. So, a suggestion can be made in this article that the scholar, Gayapati, was called "Gayahbājyā" (literally "Brahman Gaya") by the local people of the then Patan. He was indeed an influential person of his time.

Notes

1. Devendra Vajrācārya (ed.) *Jāpa tum ek cinārī*, (Kathmandu: Jāpa Tum Sahaoga Samitī, nd.), pp. 12-14.
2. Ram Dayal Rakesh, *Folk Tales from Mithila*, (New Delhi, Nirala Publication, 1996, pp. 55-103.)
3. Siddhivanta Jośī was a famous tantric astrologer of the 9th century who suggested the king of Bhaktapur: "If one gathers sand from Lakhu Tirtha of the River Visnumati on an auspicious moment would turn into gold" This famous legend is connected to the introduction of Nepal Era. Although the name of Siddhivanta Jośī is not mentioned by the chronicles, the legend from Bhaktapur told by Śrī Girindraraj Sharma mentioned his name. For detail story see (a) Daniel Wright, ed, *History of Nepal*, reprinted (Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1990), pp. 110-112 and (b) Deviprasāda Lamsāla, ed., *Bhāṣā Vamśāvalī*, II part. (Kathmandu: Nepal Rāstriya Pustakālaya, 1976), pp. 24-25.
4. Nutan Sharma (com.), *Stories of Gayahbājyā*. Commented by Niels Gutschow, (Kathmandu: Patan Conservation and Development Programme 1991). pp. 1-2. and see also: (1b) Nutan Sharma, "Water and Immortality", *Bagmati* (an ecological project of the Goethe-Institute, March 1993), pp. 46-47.
5. Thanks goes to Mr. Erich Theophile for editing the stories in such a simple way.
6. For the summary of the story see: Satya Mohan Jośī, "Pulāmha kavi yogendrānanda 'gayo juju'", *Nepālā* bi-monthly (year 3, issue 3, 1953), pp. 18-22.
7. Isvaramān Sinyā, "Harasiddhi nṛtya-ek paricaya", *Rolamba* (vol. 11, no 1, 1991:), pp. 16-20.
8. For the summary of the story see: Jośī, *op.cit.* (fn no. 6).
9. Told by Śrī Ananta Jvālānanda Rājopādhyā of Paṭukva.

10. Vajracārya, op.cit. (fn no. 1)
11. Ratnavajra Bajrācārya, *Bumgadyoyā ratha yātrā khā*, (Lalitpur: Author himself 1979), pp. 115-120.
12. For the summary of the story see: Jośī, Op.cit. (fn no. 6)
13. This is the author's translation includes additional explanatory information by the author see: Hemarāja Shākya, *Divyadivākara saṃskārīta śrī vaiśravarṇa mahāvihār gujibahāyā saṅkṣipta itihāsa*, (Lalitpur: 2529 da Buddhajayanti Samiti-Gujibahā 1985), pp. 1-3.
14. Jośī, Op.cit. (fn no. 6).
15. Sharma, op. cit (fn no. 4)
16. Jośī, Op.cit. (fn no. 6)
17. Ibid.
18. Sharma, op. cit. (fn no. 4)
19. Ibid.
20. Mahes Raj Panta, "Newārārājya ra Brāhmana", *Purīmā* (year 22, issue 1, 1993), pp. 9-40.
21. Mahes Raj Panta, "Cādabāḍa jātrāmātrāmā khelaiekā nepālimā banaiekā kehī saṃskṛt nātak", *Purnimā* (year 9, issue 4, 1977), pp. 294-308.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, part III, (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), pp. 69-71.
26. ..., "Itihāsakā kurā", *Rolamba* (vol. 2, no. 4, 1982), pp. 23-24.

RESEARCH NOTE

NEPALESE PERCEPTION OF SELF

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Introduction

The self may be thought of as an "image"- the impression it makes on others. The "self-image", is referred as to the impression aspects of the self. It is a product of our interaction with others (Mead, 1934) in that we can perceive ourselves only as a reflection in the eyes of others. Cooley (1909) noted that "we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, deeds, characters, friends and so on, and are variously affected by it. "Self-concept as the centre of a system of percepts that Combs and Snygg (1959) call the "phenomenal environment". It is perceived as being related or somehow involved with the self. The person organizes his phenomenal world in ways that enable him to enhance and maintain his phenomenal selves. He tends to notice only those persons or events that are somehow related to him, that is, have meaning for him. Structuring his environment in this way enables him to make predictions and to determine meaningful relationships between himself and to others as well as past, present and future life expectations, hopes and despair (Cantril, 1950).

Perception projects a person's awareness of his experiential world. Studies on Nepalese perception of self (Regmi and Asthana, 1981; Regmi, 1988) have revealed the perceived stage of social and political development of Nepalese people and provided for comparisons across national and cultural boundaries.

Problem

The present paper reports the findings of the Nepalese perception towards self and business man. This study gives a clear comparative picture of Nepalese self-perception between 1981 and 1993. A comparison between two perceptions is being investigated here.

Sample

It was decided to sample 9 districts out of the total 75 districts of the country-4 districts comprising Urban centres and 5 rural districts. The districts were sampled on the basis of probability proportional to population size (PPS); from the sampled district only one village development committee (VDC) was randomly selected and from the selected VDC only a few wards were collected. The target population for this study was the age group 15-49 regardless of gender. The field work began in the third week of March, 1993 and was completed by the end of May, 1993.

In all 1,017 respondents were successfully interviewed out of the targeted 1,050 yielding the overall response rate of 96.9% (rural = 93.3%, Urban = 97.6%).

Sample Size by Residence and Sex

Rural Areas	Total	Male	Female
Taplejung	53	43	10
Siraha	151	119	32
Dhading	160	129	31
Nawalparasi	130	104	26
Surkhet	113	89	24
Total	607	484	123
Municipality (Urban)			
Dharan	77	62	15
Kathmandu	207	161	46
Bharatpur	65	51	14
Mahendranagar	61	48	13
Total	410	322	88
Grand Total	1017	806	211

The remaining 33 cases of the total targeted sample size, which are treated as non-response cases could not complete the questionnaires for a variety of reasons respondents not found at home, refusals and vacant household.

Distribution of Respondents by Ecological Regions and Residence

Ecological Region	Total %	Rural %	Urban %
Mountain	5.2	8.7	n.a
Hill	47.2	45.0	50.5
Tarai	47.6	46.0	49.5
Total %	100	100	100
Total Respondents	1017	607	410

n.a = Not available

Distribution of Respondents by Gender:

Gender	Rural	Urban
Males	484	322
Females	123	88
Total	607	410

Distribution of Respondents by Mother-tongue:

Mother-Tongue	Total (%)
Nepali	60.0
Newari	16.6
Bhojpuri	7.1
Maithili	6.6
Tamang	1.6
Rai/Limbu	1.6
Magar	1.5
Gurung	1.2
Tharu	0.4
Awadhi	0.3
Marwadi	0.1
Others	3.0
Total	100

Procedure

All the respondents were administered the self-anchoring scale (Cantril 1965) to indicate their own position and that of their businessman friend as of the present, five years ago, and five years hence on an eleven point ladder scale, the extreme ends of which represented the best and worst possible life respectively. The respondents were questioned in Nepali language. The illiterate indicated their response with their index finger on a ladder scale.

Results and Discussion

Some outstanding features of the findings were noted. This can be best accomplished by the comparisons between the modal self-perceptions between 1981 and 1993.

The self is the representative of entire personality of respondent.

The self and businessman perceived on the same self-anchoring ratings (2)* in the past, the present being seen some what worse by the Nepalese (4)* as compared to the businessman's present (5)*. Interestingly, however, the future of businessman is perceived as bright (8)* as compared to self (6)*. Optimism about self in 1981 sample was unexpectedly high (8)* which was found moderated (6)* in 1993 sample. Nepalese perceptions of self in both years, 1981 and 1993, shown the trend of regression in the present to past perceptions (See Table 1). Due to economic and political diffusion in the country, people of Nepal felt depressed in their self perception of present, past and future life situations (See Appendix Tables i, ii, iii). In 1993 sample, the rural people perceived themselves low in all past (1)*, present (3)* and future (5)* anchoring- ratings when compared with the Urban Nepalese (See Table 1).

**Table 1: Perception of Self, Businessman,
Urban and Rural Nepalese**

Median Ladder			
Perception	Past	Present	Future
Self (1981)	4	5	8
Self (1993)	2	4	6
Businessman (1993)	2	5	8
Urban (1993)	2	4	7
Rural (1993)	1	3	5

* Ladder step

Median ladder distribution shows that the optimism is higher among Urban people. The Urbans still show more optimism for businessman's life in present and future anchorings.

These findings reveal the humble perception of Nepalese for their past, present, and future life situations. The magnitude of discrepancy between the past, present and future anchorings also seems to vary inversely with the level of the development of the country (Regmi and Asthana 1981). This study confirms the previous findings of Nepalese perception of self (Regmi, 1988) and pinpoints that Nepal has not been able to free itself from the syndrome of underdevelopment.

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Appendix 1**Perception of His/Her Own Life Situation (March, 1993)**

(N = 1017)

Ladder Scale			Rural			Urban		
	Past	Future	Past	Present	Future	Past	Present	Future
0	18.9	1.1	24.0	5.5	1.2	11.5	2.2	1.0
1	25.9	3.0	30.7	14.3	4.4	18.9	7.9	1.0
2	17.5	6.4	15.1	22.1	7.8	21.1	10.3	4.3
3	15.2	11.6	11.9	15.9	15.6	19.9	15.7	5.6
4	9.2	9.0	8.6	13.9	11.7	10.1	17.2	5.1
5	7.3	14.4	4.5	13.3	14.2	11.3	23.8	14.7
6	1.7	11.0	2.0	5.9	11.2	1.2	12.8	10.6
7	1.8	11.6	1.0	3.2	9.5	2.9	5.7	14.7
8	1.0	13.9	1.2	3.7	9.5	0.7	3.2	20.5
9	0.4	6.5	0.2	1.2	5.3	0.7	0.7	8.4
10	1.1	11.5	0.8	1.0	9.7	1.5	0.7	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases	1003.0	985.0	596.0	596.0	590.0	407.0	407.0	395.0
Mean	2.2	7.2	2.0	5.0	7.0	2.4	5.6	7.6
Std dev	2.0	2.6	1.9	2.2	2.6	2.1	2.0	2.4

Appendix II**Perception of a Businessman's Life Situation (March, 1993)**

(N = 1017)

Ladder Scale			Rural			Urban		
	Past	Future	Past	Present	Future	Past	Present	Future
0	19.9	4.6	22.2	2.9	5.2	16.5	2.5	3.8
1	26.6	0.9	28.4	2.6	0.9	24.0	3.0	1.0
2	19.3	2.1	18.8	8.1	2.6	20.0	4.4	1.5
3	13.1	2.8	12.2	11.4	2.9	14.3	6.7	2.5
4	7.8	4.9	7.2	12.7	5.7	8.6	14.5	3.8
5	6.4	6.8	5.5	27.5	7.9	7.7	20.0	5.3
6	3.1	8.7	1.9	12.2	9.5	4.9	14.5	7.5
7	1.5	14.2	1.7	8.6	15.7	1.2	12.8	12.0
8	0.8	17.2	1.0	6.5	15.5	0.5	10.3	19.5
9	0.7	10.8	0.2	3.4	9.3	1.5	5.4	13.0
10	0.7	27.0	0.7	4.0	24.8	0.7	5.9	30.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases	985.0	979.0	580.0	581.0	580.0	405.0	406.0	399.0
Mean	2.2	7.2	2.0	5.0	7.0	2.4	5.6	7.6
Std dev	2.0	2.6	1.9	2.2	2.6	2.1	2.0	2.4

Appendix III

Perception of His/Her Own Life Situation
(Nepalese Urbans n = 635)
(June 1981)

Personal Ladder Distribution Per cent.			
Ladder Scale	Present	Past	Future
10	2	3	17
9	3	3	22
8	7	5	16
7	14	5	14
6	15	6	12
5	25	15	5
4	14	15	4
3	9.5	20	3
2	5	15	2
1	4	9	2
0	1.5	4	3

गोसाइँकुण्ड: एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन

डिल्लीराज शर्मा
ने.ए.अ. केन्द्र

परिचय

नेपालका तीर्थस्थलहरूका सामाजिक र सांस्कृतिक पक्षहरूको अध्ययन गर्ने क्रममा अल्प अवधिको यस अध्ययनलाई यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। कुनै पनि तीर्थस्थल बारे अध्ययन गर्दा त्यस ठाउँको धार्मिक माहात्म्यको अध्ययनका साथसाथै त्यस ठाउँको सामाजिक र सांस्कृतिक पक्षहरूबारे पनि अध्ययन गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ। यसबाट यस्ता स्थलहरूमा रहेका सामान्य सामाजिक मान्यताहरू बारे थप जानकारी उपलब्ध हुनुका साथै यस्ता स्थलहरूमा विविध जातिहरूबीच विभिन्न अवसरहरूमा देखिने अन्तर्सम्बन्ध बारे पनि थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ।

गोसाइँकुण्ड नेपालको हिमाली भागमा अवस्थित एक महत्त्वपूर्ण धार्मिक तीर्थस्थल हो। हिन्दू परम्परामा मात्र नभई स्थानीय स्तरका जनविश्वासमा समेत यो स्थल अहिलेसम्म एक पवित्र स्थलकै रूपमा रहीरहेको देखापर्नु यसको ठूलो विशेषता हो। त्यसैले होला तीर्थयात्रीहरूको रूपमा यहाँ हिन्दूहरू मात्र होइन बौद्धधर्म मान्नेहरू पनि उत्तिकै समान रूपमा सहभागी भएको पाइन्छ।

गोसाइँकुण्ड वागमती अञ्चलको रसुवा जिल्लामा पर्ने एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तीर्थस्थल हो। भाखु गाविस क्षेत्रभित्र पर्ने यो स्थल समुद्र सतहबाट १६,३०० फिटको उचाईमा अवस्थित छ। वरिपरि नाङ्गा पहराहरूले घेरिएको गोसाइँकुण्ड गोसाइँपहाडको काखमा फैलिएर रहेको छ। तिब्बती भाषामा यस पहाडलाई 'शिशुपाङमा' भन्छन् भने स्थानीय तामाङ जनजिब्रोमा यसलाई 'ग्वेलछेन' भनिन्छ। यस्तै नेवारी भाषामा यो स्थल 'सिलु' तीर्थको नामको प्रसिद्ध छ। नेपालका संस्कृत ग्रन्थहरूमा यसलाई गोसाइँकुण्डका अतिरिक्त 'नीलकण्ठतीर्थ' पनि भनिएको पाइन्छ। हाल यो क्षेत्र लाइटाङ राष्ट्रिय निकुन्ज भित्र पर्दछ। त्रिशुलीगंगाको उद्गमस्थलको रूपमा पनि गोसाइँकुण्डको महत्त्व अझ बढेको छ।

गोसाइँकुण्डमा वर्षको दुइपटक मेला लाग्छ- गंगादशहरा र जनैपूर्णिमामा। सबैभन्दा ठूलो मेला जनैपूर्णिमाको अवसरमै लाग्ने गरेको पाइन्छ। टाढाटाढाका भक्तजनहरू यसैबेला पूजा गर्न तथा नुहाउन यहाँ आउने गर्दछन्।

अध्ययनको उद्देश्य:

यस अध्ययनका निम्त उद्देश्यहरू रहेका छन्-

१. यस तीर्थस्थलको ऐतिहासिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा पौराणिक माहात्म्यबारे प्रकाश पार्नु,
२. यस तीर्थमा तीर्थयात्रीहरू तथा विविध सेवा पुर्‍याउनेहरू बीच सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक र अन्य प्रकारका आदान प्रदानका सम्बन्धहरूको अध्ययन गर्नु।
३. यस तीर्थ र तीर्थयात्रासंग सम्बद्ध सुधारात्मक सुभावहरू प्रस्तुत गर्नु।

अध्ययन विधि

यस तीर्थस्थलको अध्ययन गर्दा सहभागी पर्यवेक्षण विधिलाई नै मुख्यरूपले प्रयोग गरिएको थियो। साथै सोधपूछ तथा प्रश्नावलीलाई समेत आधार बनाई आवश्यक अन्य तथ्याङ्कहरू संकलन गरिएको थियो।

पुस्तकालयहरूमा उपलब्ध सामग्री जस्तो कि प्रकाशित पुस्तकहरू, लेखहरू, प्रतिवेदन आदिको पनि सन्दर्भ सामग्रीका रूपमा यथोचित उपयोग गरिएको थियो।

सर्वेक्षणमा आधारित विभिन्न तथ्याङ्कहरू तीर्थयात्री बुढाबुढीहरू तथा स्थानीय व्यक्तिहरूबाट संकलन गरिएका थिए। यस अध्ययनमा तीर्थयात्रीको जम्मा २६ समूहको नाइकेलाई आधार लिई प्रश्न सोधिएको थियो। उक्त समूहहरू भित्र कूल तीर्थयात्री सख्या जम्मा १७३ जना रहेका थिए भने बाँकि सख्यामा ८ जना पसलेहरू र ६ जना भरियाहरूलाई समेत अध्ययनमा समावेश गरिएको थियो। यसप्रकार जम्मा १८७ जना व्यक्तिहरू यस अध्ययनको उत्तरदाताको रूपमा समावेश गरिएका थिए।

भौगोलिक अवस्थिति

गोसाइँकुण्ड हिमाली भू-भागमा पर्ने नेपालको महत्त्वपूर्ण तीर्थस्थल हो। रसुवा जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम धुन्चेबजारदेखि यो स्थल ८-९ घण्टाको पैदल यात्राको दूरीमा अवस्थित छ। धुन्चेबाट सीधै उकालो लागेपछि फकुदेउराली, ताङ्देन डाँडाको उकालो, धिम्सा, चन्दनबारी, चोलाङ्गपाटी, लौरीविनायक हुँदै गोसाइँकुण्ड पुग्न सकिन्छ। लौरी विनायक ४,३८० मिटरको उँचाईमा छ भने गोसाइँकुण्ड चाहिँ ४२६० मीटरको उचाईमा पर्दछ। यी स्थलहरूको उँचाई अति उच्च रहेको कारणले लेक लाग्ने (mountain sickness) डर रहन्छ। यस्ता उच्च स्थलहरूमा हावामा अक्सिजनको मात्रा अत्यन्त कम हुने हुँदा टाउको दुख्ने, रिङ्गटा लाग्ने र कमजोरी अनुभव हुने गर्दछ।

यस कुण्डका चारैतिर अत्यन्त कडा चट्टानका भिराला पहाडहरू छन्। यसमध्ये उत्तरतिरको पहाडलाई गोसाईकुण्ड लेक भनिन्छ। यसको उचाई अझ बढि रहेको छ। यसै गोसाईकुण्ड लेकको काखमा विशाल पोखरी फैलिएर रहेको छ। पोखरीमा आउने पानीको मुहान उत्तर तर्फको पहाडको भित्तामा रहेको त्रिशुलधारा नै हो भने निकास चाहिँ यसको दक्षिण पश्चिम केही होचो र खुला भाग हो, जहाँबाट पोखरीको पानी बाहिर जाने गर्दछ। यसरी निस्किएको पानी तल आई भैरवकुण्ड र सरस्वतीकुण्ड हुँदै पहराबाट तल खसी अन्तमा त्रिशुलीनदीको रूप धारण गर्दछ। यहाँको चट्टान कडा भएको र हिउँदमा हिउँपने हुनाले यहाँ खेतीपातीको त के रूख विरुवा समेत उम्रेका छैनन्। समथल परेका केही भागमा सुनपाती देख्न सकिन्छ भने यसदेखि केही तल्लो भागमा गोब्रेसल्लाको पातलो वन पनि छ।

पुराणहरूमा वर्णित गोसाईकुण्डको माहात्म्य

पौराणिक, साहित्यिक एवम् धार्मिक पुस्तकहरूमा गोसाईकुण्ड माहात्म्य बारे धेरै कथाहरू पाइन्छन्। यस सम्बन्धि अझ रोचक कथाहरू रामायण, महाभारत, स्कन्दपुराण, शिवपुराण तथा हिमवत्खण्डमा पाइन्छन्।

महाभारतका आदीपर्वमा समुद्र मन्थनको वर्णन छ।^१ यसमा मन्दराचलन पर्वतलाई मदानी बनाइएको र वासुकी नागलाई डोरी (लोती) बनाइएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। यसमा नागको टाउकोतिर असुरहरूले र पुच्छरतिर देवताहरूले समाई समुद्र मथ्ने काम गरिएको प्रसंग पनि छ। मन्थन प्रकृयाको क्रममा प्रारम्भमा मणि र अन्य महत्वपूर्ण दिव्य वस्तुहरू निस्के। मन्थनबाटै अत्यन्त सुन्दरी नारी (लक्ष्मी) निस्कइन्। तिनलाई भगवान् विष्णुले आफ्नो वक्षस्थलमा सुशोभित गरे। यसपछि क्रमैले पारिजात वृक्ष, कामधेनु गाई, उच्चैश्रवा घोडा र धन्वन्तरी प्रकट भए। धन्वन्तरीको हातमा अमृत कलस थियो। सोही अमृत प्राप्तगर्नका लागि दैत्य र देवता बीच झगडा पनि भयो। यसपछि महानाग ऐरावत प्रकट भयो, यसलाई इन्द्रले काबूमा ल्याए। यसपछि कालकूट विष पैदा भयो। यसको प्रभावले सबै प्राणीहरू मुर्च्छा परे। यस्तो अवस्थामा देखेर भगवान् शिवले लोक कल्याणका लागि सो विष पिई गलामा राखे। तर सो विषको प्रभावले शिवको कण्ठ नीलो भयो। यसपछि उनलाई नीलकण्ठ नामले सम्बोधन गरियो। महाभारतमा भनिएको पनि छ-

दधार भगवान् कण्ठे मन्त्र मूर्तिमहेश्वर।

तथा प्रभृति देवस्तु नीलकण्ठ इतिश्रुति॥

(महाभारत, आदीपर्व)

महाभारतको प्रसंगमा अमृतका लागि देवता र दानवहरू बीच लुछाचुँडी भई युद्ध समेत भएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। यस ग्रन्थमा भगवान् शिवले विष समनको लागि हिमालयतिर लागेको वर्णन नपाए तापनि यस प्रकारको विवरण स्कन्द पुराण अन्तर्गतको

हिमवत्खण्डमा आएर मात्र पाइन्छ। हिमवत्खण्डको अध्याय ४५, ४६, ४७ र ४८ मा यस सम्बन्धि विस्तृत उल्लेख छ- 'भगवान् शिव विषले छट्पटाउँदै हातमा वेतको लट्टी र काँधमा त्रिशुल लिएर उत्तर दिशातिर लागे। हिँड्दा हिँड्दै महादेवले आफ्नो हातमा रहेको वेतको लठ्ठी रोपे। त्यहाँबाट वेत्रावती नदी निस्कइन्। त्यसपछि महादेव अझै उत्तरतिर लागे र उत्तरतिरको पर्वतमा त्रिशुल समाई चन्दनाचल (चन्दनवारी) लाई नाघेर निलाद्रीमा पुगे। त्यहाँ आफ्नो त्रिशुलले पर्वतलाई भेदन गरे र त्यहाँबाट पानीका धारा निकाले। त्यही पानी जलकुण्डको रूपमा रह्यो र त्यसै जलकुण्डको मध्यभागमा भगवान् शिव लम्पसार भई सुते। भगवान् सुतेको जलकुण्डबाट पानी निस्केर अर्को कुण्ड (भैरवकुण्ड) बन्यो र त्यसमुनि फेरि अर्को कुण्ड (सरस्वतीकुण्ड) मा पनि जलले परिपूर्ण भयो। त्यसपछि भगवान् शिवले गणेश र क्षेत्रपाललाई नीलकण्ठ दहको द्वारको रक्षाका लागि आदेश दिए।' यसअनुसार दहको पश्चिम दिशामा गणेश लौरीविनायकको रूपमा र दण्डपाणी क्षेत्रपाल द्वारपालको रूपमा रहे। भनिन्छ, यी द्वारपालहरूको आज्ञाविना कोही पनि जलकुण्डसम्म जान सक्तैनन्। गणेश र दण्डपाणीको आज्ञा पाएर मात्र अरू देवताहरू त्यहाँबाट प्रवेश गर्न पाउँछन् भन्ने पनि उल्लेख छ। आजभोलि लौरी विनायकमा लौरो चढाएर स्तुति गर्ने परम्परा छ तर क्षेत्रपालको कुनै स्थान वा मूर्ति रहेको पाइँदैन।

यस्तै हिमवत्खण्डमा भनिएको छ- 'त्यसपछि गन्धर्व, किन्नर, नाग, यक्ष, अप्सरा, चौसठ्ठी कोटी योगिनीहरू यहाँ जुहाउन आए। सबैले ॐ नमः सम्भक्त्यै रुद्रलाई भक्तिसहित नमस्कार गरे। पञ्चोपचार पूजाविधिले यहाँ पूजा गरे।'²

हिमवत्खण्डको ४६ औं अध्यायमा भैरवकुण्डमा जो नुहाउँछन् सारा पापबाट मुक्त भई कैलाश धाममा जान्छन् भनिए तापनि परम्पराअनुसार भैरवकुण्डमा नुहाउने प्रचलन रहेको पाइँदैन। यहाँको कुण्डको चारैतिरको किनारा अत्यन्त भिरालो गरी बनेको र पानी पनि सँग्लो नभई निकै कालो देखिने भएकोले मानिसहरू यहाँ नुहाउने गर्दैनन्। किम्बदन्ति अनुसार यहाँ नुहाउन गएमा पानीले भित्रतिर तान्ने गर्छ। केही वर्ष अगाडि एकजना साधु यहाँ नुहाउन गए तर उनी केहीबेरमै लोप भएको घटना पनि यहाँ सुनिन्छ। त्यसबेलादेखि यो ठाउँमा नुहाउन जाने हिम्मत कसैले पनि गर्दैनन्।

हिमवत्खण्डको ४७ औं अध्यायमा नीलकण्ठ पोखरीको महत्त्वबारे चर्चागर्दै भनिएको छ-

भस्मस्नानी शिवध्यायी रुद्राक्षाक्तनुमुर्ददा।

शिव मन्त्र जपेल्लक्षं नीलकण्ठ तटेडनिशम्॥

सर्वयज्ञोद्भवं पुण्यं सर्वतीर्थोद्भवं फलं।

सर्वदानोद्भवं पुण्यं सर्व धर्मोद्भवं फलम्॥

(भस्म दलेका शिवजीको ध्यान नीलकण्ठ

पोखरीको किनारमा निरन्तर जपेमा अन्य

सबै प्रकारका यज्ञ गर्नले पाइने पुण्य
तथा सबै तीर्थमा स्नान, दान गर्नले
प्राप्तहुने पुण्यभन्दा करौडौ गुना बढी
पुण्य प्राप्ति हुन्छ।)

यसबाट गोसाइँकुण्डको धार्मिक महत्त्व उच्च रहेको देखापर्छ। यसै महत्त्वलाई बुझेर होला मल्ल राजाहरूले समयसमयमा गोसाइँकुण्डको धार्मिक यात्रा समेत गरेका थिए।

गोसाइँकुण्डसंग संबन्धित केही ऐतिहासिक घटनाहरू

गोसाइँकुण्डको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व पनि प्रशस्त रहेको छ। खास गरेर काठमाडौँका मल्ल राजाहरूले यस ठाउँलाई ठूलो तीर्थस्थलकै रूपमा मान्दै आएका थिए। मल्लराजाहरूमा यक्षमल्ल पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल, महीपतेन्द्र मल्ल, भास्कर मल्ल आदिले यस ठाउँको तीर्थयात्रा गरेका थिए। केशर पुस्तकालयमा रहेको 'सुमतिसिद्धान्त टीका' नामक पुस्तकको टिपोटमा यक्षमल्ल बारे उल्लेख गर्दै भनिएको छ- "ने.सं. ५६७ (वि.सं. १५०४०) भाद्र शुक्ल तृतीयामा दिन श्रीश्री जय यक्षमल्लदेव ठाकुर शिवलुति (शिलु = गोसाइँकुण्ड) तिर प्रस्थान गर्नुभयो। भाद्र शुक्ल द्वादशी श्रवण नक्षत्र बुधवारका दिन गोसाइँकुण्डमा स्नान गरेर दान दक्षिणा गर्नु भयो। तीन रात चार दिन गोसाइँ थानमा बसी गाई दान गर्नु भयो, यति गरी फर्कनु भयो। भाद्रकृष्ण चतुर्थीका दिन श्री चाँगुरनारायणलाई स्नान गराई देउपाटनमा जानु भयो, देउपाटनमा श्री पशुपतिनाथलाई स्नान गराई त्यही दिन राजदरबार जानु भयो।"३

यसबाट यक्षमल्लले गोसाइँकुण्डको यात्रा वि.सं. १५०४ भाद्र १५ गते शुरू गरी भाद्र ३० गते मात्र काठमाडौँ फर्केको देखिन्छ। गाई समेत दान गरी फर्केको यस प्रसंगबाट यस तीर्थस्थलको महत्त्व त्यसबेला पनि अत्यन्त उच्च रहेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ। यक्षमल्लले चलाएको यस परम्परालाई यसपछिका अरू राजाहरूले पनि मान्दै आए।

काठमाडौँका प्रशिद्ध राजा प्रतापमल्लले गोसाइँकुण्डसम्मको यात्रा गरे-नगरेको चाहिँ थाहा हुन नसकेता पनि रानी पोखरी खन्न लगाई त्यसमा विभिन्न तीर्थहरूबाट जल ल्याई भर्ने क्रममा केवल गोसाइँकुण्डको मात्रै ६३ भारी जल बोकाई त्यहाँ खन्याउन लगाएको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ।^४ यस आधारबाट संभवतः प्रतापमल्लले पनि गोसाइँकुण्डसम्मको यात्रा गरेका थिए भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ।

पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल र उनका भाई महीपतेन्द्र मल्ल पनि गोसाइँकुण्डसम्मको धार्मिक यात्रा गरी फर्केका थिए। चन्द्रमान जोशीसँग रहेको एउटा ठ्यासफूको वर्णनमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ- 'ने.सं. ८०१ (वि.सं. १७३८) श्रावण शुक्ल अष्टमी उप्राप्त नवमी स्वाती नक्षत्र बुधवारका दिन १५ घडीदेखि १८ घडीभित्र श्री श्री जय पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल देव, भाइ श्रीश्री

महीपतेन्द्र मल्ल दुवै दाजुभाइ गोसाइँकुण्डमा जान भनी पश्चिमतिर जानु भयो। यसदिन तारसीमा बास पऱ्यो। यसको भोलिपल्ट ज्याथ मानेमा बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट थंथुरज्जमा बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट पाकुको नथवनमा बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट शिरू थिकुमा बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट चन्दनसिंह बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट श्री ३ नीलकण्ठकुण्डको दक्षिणतिर श्रीश्री जयपार्थिवेन्द्र मल्लको शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गर्नु भयो।" उक्त ठ्यासफूमै राजा पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ले उक्त तीर्थयात्रा पूरा गरी फर्केको प्रसंग पनि आएको छ। ठ्यासफू अगाडि उल्लेख गर्दछ- "यस दिन एक रात शिरुथी मै बास बसी यसको भोलिपल्ट दोरामा बास बसियो। यसको भोलिपल्ट धैवुडमा बास। यसको भोलिपल्ट नुवाकोटमा बास। नुवाकोटमा एक रात बस्नु भई श्री ३ गण्डकी भैरवलाई ६ राँगा २० बोकासहितको बलि पूजा गरी यस दिन तारसिमा बास बस्न जानुभयो। यसको भोलिपल्ट (कान्तिपुर) आइपुगनु भयो।"^५

उपरोक्त ठ्यासफू अनुसार प्रतापमल्लका छोराहरूमध्ये पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल र महीपतेन्द्र मल्ल सात दिन लगाई गोसाइँकुण्ड पुगेका थिए र फर्कदा ५ दिन लगाई उनीहरू काठमाडौँ आएका थिए। यसर्थ सो यात्रा गर्न त्यसबेला जम्मा १२ दिन लागेको थियो। फर्कने क्रममा उनी नुवाकोटमा एक रात बसी गण्डकी भैरवलाई ६ राँगा २० बोका बलि दिएका थिए। साथै नीलकण्ठ तीर्थको दक्षिणतिर मन्दिरभित्र रहेको शिवलिङ्ग उक्त शिवलिङ्ग हो कि भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ। कडा कालो प्रस्ततरमा कुँदिएको यो शिवलिङ्ग काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा रहेका शिवलिङ्गको बनावटसँग मिल्दो जुल्दो पनि छ।

एउटा अर्को ठ्यासफूमा राजा भास्कर मल्लले पनि गोसाइँकुण्डको धार्मिक यात्रा गरेको पाइन्छ। त्यसमा "ने.सं. ८३४ (वि.सं. १७७०) कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वितीया शनैश्चरवारको दिन राती श्रीश्री जय भास्कर मल्ल राजा गोसाइँकुण्डमा जान परमेश्वर हिटीमा प्रस्थान गरी बस्नु भयो। यसको तीन दिनपछि चौथीको दिन धर्मस्थलीमा पुगनु भयो। कार्तिक कृष्ण नवमीको दिन फर्कनु भयो"^६ भन्ने उल्लेखबाट भास्कर मल्लको यो यात्रा जम्मा १७ दिन लागेको देखिन्छ। तर यस ठ्यासफूमा धर्मस्थलीबाट प्रस्थान गरेको उल्लेखसम्म आए तापनि बाटामा पर्ने बासहरूको बारेमा भने उल्लेख छैन।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह पनि गोसाइँकुण्ड स्नानका लागि प्रस्थान गरेको उल्लेख छ।^७ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले आफ्नो उपदेशमा "मामाज्यू पनि नीलकण्ठ पशुपतिको दर्शनलाई देउघाटको बाटो गरी जानु भयाको रहेछ। नीलकण्ठ पशुपतिको दर्शन भया पछि श्री गोरखनाथको दर्शनलाई गोर्खामा आउनुभयो"^८ भनेकाले त्यसबेलासम्म पनि गोसाइँकुण्डको महिमा उच्च रहेको स्पष्ट छ।

देवीघाट पारी रणभूवनेश्वर स्थानमा रहेको वि.सं. १८८५ को रणोद्योत शाहको अभिलेखमा गोसाइँकुण्डको महिमा बारे यसरी भनिएको छ- "..... विष पिएपछि त्यसबाट भएको ठूलो छटपटी हटाउनको लागि शिवजी हिमालयको सिन्हानमा जानु भयो र त्यहाँ त्रिशुल गाड्नु भयो। त्यहाँबाट हिउँ पानी तीन धारा निस्कए, ती धाराहरूबाट

शिवजीको बासस्थान स्वरूपको मानिसको पाप नास गर्ने सफा कुण्ड (शिव ल्हुति = गोसाइँकुण्ड) को अभिभावक भयो”^९

राजा गीर्वाण युद्ध विक्रम शाहले वि.सं. १८५९ मा जय मंगल शर्मालाई सदावर्त गुठी चलाउने अधिकार दिएका थिए। सो सदावर्त गुठीलाई अलग्याएको जग्गामा गुलालराम अवसधिकले आफ्नो तर्फको केही खेत जग्गा पनि प्रदान गरेका थिए।^{१०} यसमा धैबुङ, किमार जुङ भञ्ज्याङ, चित्ति भञ्ज्याङ सूर्यगढी मुनिको छहरो, गढी भञ्ज्याङ, देउराली भञ्ज्याङ र आहाल्पा भञ्ज्याङ भित्रको जग्गा प्रदान गरिएको थियो। यसबाट पछिका समयमा पनि गोसाइँकुण्डको धार्मिक महत्त्वलाई कायम गर्न राजाहरूले प्रशस्त ध्यान दिएको थाहा हुन्छ।

गोसाइँकुण्ड सम्बन्धी किम्बदन्तीहरू

गोसाइँकुण्डको महत्त्वलाई प्रचार प्रसार गर्न स्थानीय रूपमा प्रचलित किम्बदन्तीहरूले पनि ठूलो भूमिका खेलेका छन्। यस्ता किम्बदन्तीहरूमध्ये नेवार समुदायमा प्रचलित किम्बदन्तीहरू महत्त्वपूर्ण तथा उल्लेखनीय छन्। यस्तै एउटा किम्बदन्तीको अनुसार एक पटक भर्खरै बिहे गरेका नवदम्पति नुहाउन भनी गोसाइँकुण्डको लागि प्रस्थान गरेछन्। पतिले आफ्नी पत्नीलाई संगै नुहाउन नजाने सल्लाह दिए तापनि पत्नीको ठूलो ढिपीपछिमात्र पतिले पत्नीलाई पनि संगै लिई नुहाउन गोसाइँकुण्ड गए। त्यहाँ पुगेपछि नुहाउन मात्रै के लागेका थिए कुनै ठाउँको राजाले उनकी पत्नीको अपहरण गरी आफ्नी रानी तुल्याएछ। यसरी आफ्नी पत्नीको अपहरण भएपछि उक्त पति आफ्नी पत्नीको वियोगमा एकलै छटपट्टिई जोगीको भेषमा चारैतिर घुम्न थालेछ। धेरै समयपछि एकदिन चतुर्मास व्रत समाप्त गरी राजाको स्वीकृति अनुसार जोगीहरूलाई भोजन खाउँदा रानीले आफ्नो पतिलाई देखिन्। त्यसपछि उनी कुनै उपायले जोगीनीको भेष धारण गरी शौचालयमा जाने निहुँमा दरबारबाट बाहिर निस्कई आफ्नो पतिसँगै लागीन्।

यसै किम्बदन्तीको विश्वास अनुसार नेवार समाजमा अहिले पनि गोसाइँकुण्डको यात्रामा पति र पत्नि संगसंगै जान नहुने चलन छ।

नेवारीभाषामा ‘शिलु तीर्थ’ नामका भजन पनि प्रचलित छ।^{११} यस भजनमा माथिकै कथालाई लयबद्ध रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। उक्त भजन गीतको अनुसार त्यसबेला गोसाइँ कुण्ड जाँदा क्रमशः धर्मस्थली, पाता माने फेदी, पांगा माने फेदी, जैफल पौवा, रानी पौवा, चातुराली पौवा, नुवाँकोट व्यासी, थैबुतने, भीमल पाकव, धुन्चे व्यासी पार गर्दै लौरी विनायक ठाउँ पार गर्नु पर्दथ्यो। भजनमा व्यक्त तालिका अनुसार काठमाडौँबाट हिँडेको १३ औँ दिनमा गोसाइँकुण्ड पुगेको प्रसंग पनि यताबाट थाहा हुन्छ। प्रस्तुत नेवारी भाषाको भजनले धार्मिक विछोडको वेदनालाई प्रस्तुत गरे पनि पुनर्मिलनबाट यसको अन्त्य गरिएको छ। हालसम्म पनि यो गीत नेवारी समाजमा निकै लोकप्रिय रहेको छ।^{१२}

किम्बदन्तीको विश्वासले गर्दा नेवार समुदायमा पति-पत्नीको उपस्थिति यहाँ त्यति धेरै मात्रामा नदेखिए तापनि आजभोलि भने फाटफुट रूपमा पति पत्नी संगसंगै गएको नदेखिने पनि होइन। अरू जातिहरूमा यस कथाको विश्वसनीयता त्यती सारो रहेको देखिदैन।

पर्व र मेलाहरू

गोसाइँकुण्डको महत्त्व बढाउनमा श्रावण पूर्णिमाको बेला यहाँ लाग्ने धार्मिक मेलाको नै प्रमुख भूमिका छ। यस अवसरमा विभिन्न ठाउँबाट श्रद्धालु भक्तजनहरू यहाँ आई बिहानैदेखि यहाँको पवित्र पोखरीमा नुहाउँदछन्। नुहाई सकेपछि आफ्नो गच्छेअनुसार सिदा दान, भेटी दान गर्ने पनि गरिन्छ। यसै अवसरमा शिव स्तुति गर्ने, शिव नाम उच्चारण गर्ने, धूप, दीप, नैवेद्य आदिले भगवान् शिवको पूजा अर्चना गर्ने इत्यादि गर्ने गरिन्छ। धेरैजसोले यस पूजाको अवसरमा नरीवलका जटाहरू पोखरीमा चढाउने पनि गर्दछन्। श्रावण पूर्णिमाको यस पुण्य अवसरमा पोखरीमा नुहाएमा जन्मभरी गरेका पापहरू पखालिनुको साथै अन्य यज्ञ, दान आदिबाट कमाएको पुण्यभन्दा सयौं गुना बढि पुण्य मिल्छ भन्ने आम धारणा रहेको छ। श्रावण पूर्णिमाको अवसरमा नुहाउन जाने भक्तजनले बाटोमा चार, पाँच वटा ढुंगाहरू चाँजेर घर जस्तो आकार बनाई छाड्ने गर्दछन्। धारणा अनुसार मरे पछि स्वर्गमा बस्न चाहिने घरको रूपमा यसलाई लिइएको बुझिन्छ।

यस्तै अर्को महत्त्वपूर्ण दिन वैशाख महिनामा पर्ने दसहरा मेला हो। तर यसबेला तीर्थयात्रीहरूको उपस्थिति माथिको अनुपातमा निकै कम हुन्छ।

श्रावण पूर्णिमाको अवसरमा वरिपरिबाट भाँक्रीहरू यहाँ आई महादेवको अवाहन गरी पोखरीमा हामफाली नुहाउने पनि गर्दछन्। महादेवलाई सबैजसो भाँक्रीहरूले आफ्ना मूल गुरुको रूपमा स्विकार गरी यसदिन उनीबाट आशिर्वाद लिन सकिने विश्वास पनि राखेको पाइन्छ। यहाँ आउने भाँक्रीहरूमा अधिकांश तामाङ समुदायकै छन्। प्रत्येक गाउँबाट भाँक्रीहरू यहाँ आउँदा गाउँका सबै चेली र अरू व्यक्तिहरूलाई आफ्नै खर्चमा यहाँ ल्याउनु पर्ने नियम छ। यसको लागि ठाउँ ठाउँमा सबै सहभागीहरूलाई खानपीनको व्यवस्था पनि भाँक्री कै तर्फबाट मिलाउनु पर्ने हुन्छ। त्यतिमात्र होइन, नुहाएर फर्केपछि पनि भाँक्रीले गाउँलेहरूलाई ठूलो भोज दिनु पर्ने चलन छ। आजभोली यसप्रकारको परम्परा कायम राख्न ज्यादै महङ्गो हुने भएकाले भाँक्रीहरूको उपस्थिति ज्यादै कम हुँदैछ।

भाँक्रीहरू आफ्नो एक हातमा ढ्याङ्ग्रो समाई अर्को हातले लठ्ठीले ठोक्दै भगवान्को स्तुति गर्ने, भगवान्लाई लोकको रक्षाको लागि निवेदन गर्ने गर्दछन्। भनिन्छ, यसैदिन भाँक्रीहरूले मानवको उत्पत्ति, भगवान्को उत्पत्ति आदि कथाहरूलाई गीतकै माध्यमबाट अभिव्यक्त गर्ने गर्दछन्। भाँक्रीहरू यस मेला कै अवसरमा गोसाइँकुण्डका अतिरिक्त

दूधकुण्ड, ईश्वरकुण्ड, महादेवकुण्ड, सरस्वतीकुण्ड, भैरवकुण्ड आदि कुण्डहरूको परिक्रमा पनि गर्ने गर्दछन्।^{१३} यसरी भाँक्रीहरू श्रावण पूर्णिमामा गोसाईकुण्ड गई महादेवप्रति श्रद्धा व्यक्त गर्दै आशिर्वाद लिएपछि मात्र आफ्नो विद्या र सिद्धिमा पारङ्गत भएको ठानिन्छ। जसरी हिन्दूहरूले नीलकण्ठ महादेवको स्तुति गर्दछन् त्यसरी नै भाँक्री विद्या र पेशामा लागेकाहरूले उनै महादेवको आशिर्वाद लिने गर्दछन्। यसैले धामी भाँक्री (Shamanism) मा विश्वास राख्नेहरू र सनातनी हिन्दु धर्मप्रति विश्वास राख्ने यी दुवैधरीको एउटै जमघटको स्थल यो ठाउँ हुन पुगेको देखिन्छ।

तीर्थयात्राको उद्देश्य

अनुसन्धानको क्रममा गोसाईकुण्डसम्म गरिने यात्राको उद्देश्यलाई पनि विषय वस्तुको रूपमा राखिएको थियो। श्रावण पूर्णिमाको अवसरमा गरिने यात्रा हुनाले सबैको समान धार्मिक उद्देश्य रहेको भए तापनि सबैले ओआफ्नै उद्देश्य र अभिप्राय राखेको पनि पाइन्छ। यात्राको उद्देश्यको सम्बन्धमा निम्न तालिकाले पनि स्पष्ट पारेको छ-

यात्राको उद्देश्य

उद्देश्य	महिला (%)	पुरुष (%)	जम्मा (%)
सामान्य पूजा/नुहाउने	८७ (९५.६)	७३ (८९.०)	९६० (९२.५)
दृश्यावलोकन	४ (४.४)	९ (११.०)	९३ (७.५)
जम्मा	९१ (१००)	८२ (१००)	९७३ (१००)

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

उपरोक्त तालिकाले देखाए अनुसार ९६० जना अर्थात् ९२.५ प्रतिशत यात्रीहरू नुहाउने र पूजा गर्न आएको देखापरेको भन्ने दृश्यावलोकनको लागि मात्र आउने यात्रीहरूको संख्या ९३ अर्थात् ७.५ प्रतिशत रहेको देखियो। खास गरे १६-२५ वर्ष सम्मको उमेर समुहका केटाहरू घुम्नको लागि आएको भन्ने जवाफ उनीहरूबाट आएको थियो। यहाँ आउने पश्चिमा विदेशीहरूको उद्देश्यमा त दृश्यावलोकन बाहेक अर्को हुनसक्ने अनुमान पनि गर्न सकिँदैन।

स्थानीय जन जीवनमा गोसाईकुण्ड मेलाले पार्ने प्रभाव

(क) सामूहिक भावनाको विकास

गोसाईकुण्ड तीर्थाटन गर्ने कार्यको थालनी सामूहिक सोचाईबाटै हुन गर्दछ। यसका लागि कम्तिमा दुई वा दुइभन्दा बढी व्यक्ति रहेका समूहहरू यहाँ आउने गर्दछन्। उक्त

समूहको एकजना नाइके हुन्छ। समूहभित्र यात्रा निर्धारण गर्ने कुरा देखि बासको व्यवस्था मिलाउने काम सम्म पनि उक्त नाइकेले नै गर्छ। समूहको नाइकेले बुढाबुढीलाई आराम र सुविधा पुर्याउने र उनीहरू हिड्न नसक्ने अवस्था देखिएमा भरिया वा घोडा भाडामा लिई निश्चित ठाउँसम्म पुर्याउने व्यवस्था पनि गर्दछन्। यस्तो सामूहिक सोचाइमा आधारित तीर्थ बाट संबद्ध तीर्थयात्रीहरूको बीच एक आपसको सम्बन्धले सामाजिक सहयोगको भावनालाई अझ विस्तार गरेको छ। अध्ययनको क्रममा भेटिएका यस्ता समूहहरूको विवरण निम्न प्रकारले प्राप्त भएको थियो-

यात्रीहरूको समूह विवरण

व्यक्ति संख्या	समूह संख्या	%
१-५	१६	६१.५
६-१०	४	१५.४
१० भन्दा माथि	६	२३.१
जम्मा	२६	१००

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

उपरोक्त तालिकाले एउटा समूह भित्र १ देखि ५ जनासम्म सम्मिलित समूहहरू अधिक मात्रामा रहेको देखाउँछ। यसको प्रतिशत पनि ६१.५ रहेको छ। यसैगरी ६-१० जनासम्म सदस्यरहने समूहको संख्या ४ अर्थात् १५.४ प्रतिशत र १० भन्दा बढि सदस्य रहने समूहको संख्या ६ (२३.१) रहेको देखिन्छ। १० भन्दा माथिको समूहमा धेरैजसो २५ जना देखि २७ जना सदस्य सम्म रहेका पाइयो। यसप्रकारको समूहहरू प्रायः काठमाडौं तथा चितवन जिल्लाका रहेको पाइयो। यस्ता समूहहरूमा नाइके बाहेक अन्य सदस्यहरूमा महिलाहरूको सहभागिता अत्यधिक रहेको छ।

अनुसन्धानको क्रममा संबद्ध यात्रीहरूलाई कतिपटक यात्रा गरिसकिएको भन्ने प्रश्नमा उनीहरूबाट आएको उत्तर निम्न तालिकाले स्पष्ट पार्दछ-

यात्रा पटकको तालिका

कतिपटक	महिला (%)	पुरुष (%)	जम्मा (%)
पहिलो	८३ (९१.२)	७१ (८६.६)	१५४ (८९.०)
दोस्रो	५ (५.५)	५ (६.१)	१० (५.८)
तेस्रो	३ (३.३)	६ (७.३)	९ (५.२)
जम्मा	९१ (१००)	८२ (१००)	१७३ (१००)

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

यस तालिकाबाट यो पनि स्पष्ट भएको छ कि उक्त यात्रामा अधिक संख्यामा पहिलो पटक आएका यात्रीहरू नै रहेका छन्। उनीहरूको संख्या १५४ (८९.०) अर्थात् सबभन्दा बढी रहेको छ। यसै गरी दोस्रो पटक आएका तीर्थयात्री संख्या १० (५.८) र तेस्रो पटक आएकाहरूको संख्या ९ (५.२) रहेको देखिन्छ। यसबाट यस तीर्थको महत्व र माहात्म्यले भर्खरमात्र जनमानसमा प्रचार प्रसार हुने मौका पाएको देखाउँछ। यसबाट पनि अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ कि गोसाइँकुण्डसम्मको यात्रा अलि कठिन पर्ने भएकाले प्रायःजसो यात्रीहरूले एक पटक मात्र यस्तो यात्रा गर्न आफ्नो हिम्मत जुटाउन सक्षम देखिन्छन्। त्यसैले पनि दोस्रो र तेस्रो पटक यात्रा गर्ने फुर्सद र आँट कम मात्रले जुटाएको देखिन्छ।

(ख) जीवन स्तरमा सुधार

अध्ययनबाट एउटा नौलो तथ्य पनि हाम्रो अगाडि आएको छ त्यो हो मेलाले स्थानीय जन जीवनमा पारेको सामाजिक र आर्थिक प्रभाव। रसुवा जिल्लाको उत्तरी भागमा खास गरी तामाङ जाति कै बाहुल्य रहेको छ। त्यहाँ तामाङ समुदायसंग थोरै पाखो जग्गा मात्र रहेको हुनाले दह्रो आयस्रोतको अभावको कारण उनीहरूले निकै आर्थिक कठिनाई बेहोर्नु परेको थियो। तर केही वर्ष यतादेखि गोसाइँकुण्डको तीर्थाटन गर्ने क्रम बढ्दै गएको र धुन्चेबाट हिँड्दा प्रत्येक बासमा तामाङ जातिले सञ्चालन गरेका थर्पु (अस्थायी होटेल) भएका कारण उनीहरूले आंशिक रूपमा भएपनि वार्षिक निश्चित आयस्रोतको रूपमा मेलालाई लिएको देखिन्छ। जुन तामाङहरूको थर्पु हुँदैन उनीहरूले समेत भारी बोक्ने व्यवसायद्वारा मेलाको अवसरमा थप आय अर्जन गर्न पाएको देखिन्छ।

यो क्षेत्र लाइटाङ् राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जभित्र पर्ने भएकाले यहाँ कुनै सीमित अवधिको लागि मात्र भए पनि थर्पु राख्न दिने व्यवस्था भएको छ। यस्ता थर्पुहरू श्रावण शुक्ल एकादशीदेखि पूर्णिमासम्म (१५ दिन जतिको अवधिमा) राख्न निकुञ्जले अनुमति दिएको छ। त्यस बापत ३००८ रूपैयाँ प्रत्येक थर्पुले निकुञ्जलाई बुझाउनु पर्दछ। खास गरी धुन्चेदेखि माथिबाट थर्पु संख्या क्रमशः सुरु भई गोसाइँकुण्डमै टुङ्गिन्छ। अध्ययन गर्ने समयताका २४० जति थर्पुहरू राखिएका थिए। यी थर्पुहरू यहाँका भाखु गाउँ र कालीका गाविसका तामाङ जातिहरूले नै चलाएका छन्। ४/५ वर्ष अघिदेखि यहाँ थर्पु (होटेल) राख्ने अनुमति पाउँदै आएका र त्यसैअनुसार उनीहरूले आ-आफ्ना निश्चित ठाउँमा थर्पु राखेको पाइन्छ। मेलाको अवधिभर नियम अनुसार उक्त थर्पुहरू सञ्चालन गर्ने र मेला सकिएपछि आफैले थर्पु वरिपरि सरसफाई गर्नु पर्ने नियम पनि रहेको छ।

उनीहरूको दैनिक आयबारे प्रश्न गर्दा उक्त थर्पु सञ्चालकहरूले तथ्य रूपमा उत्तर नदिए तापनि अप्रत्यक्ष रूपबाट उनीहरूको आय सालाखाला दैनिक रु. १५००८ देखि रु. ७०००८ सम्म रहेको पनि थाहा भयो।

तालिकामा पसलेहरू र भरियाबाट लिएको तथ्याङ्कलाई यसरी राख्न सकिन्छ-

१५ दिनको अवधिमा हुने दैनिक आम्दानी

आम्दानी	पसल संख्या	(%)	भरिया संख्या	(%)
२००० रु. भन्दा कम	१	१२.५	४	६६.७
२०००-५००० रु.	२	२५.०	२	३३.३
५००० रु. भन्दा बढी	५	६२.५	-	
जम्मा	८	१००	६	१००

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

उपरोक्त तालिका अनुसन्धानको क्रममा ८ जना तामाङ पसलेहरू (थर्पु व्यवसायी) र ६ जना तामाङ भरियासँग सोधिएका प्रश्नावलीमा आधारित छ। यसबाट भरियाहरूले भन्दा पसलेहरूले यस अवसरमा बढि आर्थिक आय आर्जन गर्न समर्थ रहेको देखिन्छ। अनेत्रबाट पनि भरियाहरू यहाँ आई काम गर्ने देखिएकोबाट यहाँका स्थानीय तामाङ भरियाहरूको आयमा धेरै असर पर्न गएको कुरा पनि अवगत भयो। अन्य केही ठाउँहरू जस्तो चन्दनवारीको ३ वटा स्थायी होटल, चोलाङपाटीमा एउटा होटल र गोसाइँकुण्डमा दुइवटा स्थायी होटलहरू शेर्पाहरूले चलाएको देखिन्छ। वेग्लै कोठा लिन पाउने भएकाले नेपालीहरू पनि प्रायः शेर्पाहरूको यिनै स्थायी होटलमा बस्न मन पराउँछन् भने विदेशी पर्यटकहरू पनि आधुनिक रूपमा बनाएका यस्ता होटलहरूबाट आकर्षित छन्। यसले गर्दा तामाङहरूका थर्पुहरूमा बस्न चाहनेहरू (खास गरेर आधा बाटोमा बस्ने) कमै सम्भावना रहेको हुन्छ। यसबाट पदयात्राको उपयुक्त बास स्थायी थलोमा अवस्थित यस्ता होटलसँग यिनीहरूको तुलना हुन सक्दैन। जे होस्, स्थानीय तामाङ र शेर्पाहरूले नेपालका र विदेशका अन्य पृथक संस्कृतिरहेका व्यक्तिहरूसँगको सम्पर्कका साथै यस अवधिमा आफ्नो आर्थिक उपार्जनलाई पनि कुनै न कुनै मात्रामा बढाउने अवसर पनि पाएका छन्।

(ग) विविध जाति र समुदायबीच आपसी सम्पर्क र आदान प्रदान

गोसाइँकुण्डमा विशेष गरी श्रावण पूर्णिमाको अवसरमा टाढाटाढाबाट आएका विभिन्न जाति र समुदायका तथा विभिन्न पेशा गर्ने मानिसहरूको जमघट हुने गर्दछ। यसप्रकारको जमघटले उनीहरू बीचको सांस्कृतिक एकतालाई पनि सुदृढ बनाउने काम गरेको छ।

तल प्रस्तुत गरिएको तालिकाको क्षेत्रीय अवलोकनको बेला उक्त तीर्थयात्रामा सामेल देखिएका विविध जाति र समुदायका व्यक्तिहरूको संख्यात्मक उपस्थिति जनाउँछ-

तीर्थ यात्रीहरूको समुदायगत र जातिगत तालिका

जाति	महिला संख्या (%)	पुरुष संख्या (%)	जम्मा (%)
ब्राह्मण	५१ (५६.१)	३९ (४७.६)	९० (५२.०)
क्षेत्री	१३ (१४.४)	४ (४.९)	१७ (९.८)
नेवार	९ (९.८)	२० (२४.४)	२९ (१६.७)
मगर	१० (१०.९)	९ (१०.९)	१९ (१०.९)
तामाङ	५ (५.५)	४ (४.८)	९ (१०.०)
जोगी/सन्यासी		१ (१.३)	१ (०.५)
विदेशी (पश्चिमी मुलुकका)	३ (३.३)	५ (६.१)	८ (४.६)
जम्मा	९१ (१००)	८२ (१००)	१७३ (१००)

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

उपरोक्त तालिकाबाट के स्पष्ट हुन्छ भने यस तीर्थयात्रामा अधिकांश सहभागीहरू ब्राह्मण र क्षेत्री नै रहेका छन्। त्यसपछि नेवार, मगर र तामाङहरूको उपस्थिति क्रमसः रहेको छ। यसमा जोगी, सन्यासी जम्मा एक र विदेशीहरूको संख्या आठ पुगेको छ। विदेशीहरूमा खासगरी पश्चिमी मुलुकका पर्यटकहरू रहेका छन्। महिला र पुरुषको सहभागिता हेर्दा नेवार जाति बाहेक अरू जातिको संख्यामा महिलाहरू कै मात्रा बढि रहेको देखिन्छ। काठमाडौँबाट एकै उमेरका केटाहरूको ग्रुप (समूह) बिदाको उपयोग गर्न आएको हुनाले पनि तुलनात्मक रूपमा पुरुषभन्दा महिलाहरूको संख्या नेवार जातिमा कम देखिन गएको सान्दर्भिक छ।

यसैगरी जिल्लागत रूपमा आउने तीर्थ यात्रीहरूको तथ्याङ्क निम्नानुसार देखिन्छ-

जिल्लागत रूपमा आउने तीर्थयात्रीहरूको तालिका

जिल्ला	महिला (%)	पुरुष (%)	जम्मा (%)
रसुवा	५ (५.५)	४ (४.९)	९ (५.२)
नुवाकोट	३ (३.३)	६ (७.३)	९ (५.२)
काठमाडौँ	१९ (२०.९)	१६ (१९.५)	३५ (२०.२)
भक्तपुर	-	४ (४.९)	४ (२.२)
पाटन	१२ (१३.२)	११ (१३.४)	२३ (१३.४)

काभ्रे		२ (२.४)	२ (१.३)
सिन्धुपाल्चोक	३ (३.३)	४ (४.९)	७ (४.१)
चितवन	३१ (३४.१)	१८ (२२.०)	४९ (२८.४)
मकवानपुर	२ (२.४)	२ (२.४)	४ (२.४)
पाल्पा	४ (४.४)	३ (३.७)	७ (४.०)
तनहुँ	१ (१.१)	२ (२.४)	३ (१.३)
नवलपरासी	८ (८.८)	४ (४.९)	१२ (६.९)
विदेश	३ (३.३)	६ (७.३)	९ (५.२०)
जम्मा	९१ (१००)	८२ (१००)	१७३ (१००)

स्रोत: स्थलगत सर्वेक्षण २०५६

उपरोक्त तालिकाले देखाए अनुसार गोसाइँकुण्डको धार्मिक यात्रामा आउने यात्रुहरू पूर्वमा सिन्धुपाल्चोकदेखि पश्चिममा पाल्पासम्मका रहेका छन्। ती मध्ये अधिक संख्यामा चितवनका (२८.४) र त्यसपछि काठमाडौँका (२०.२) रहेका छन्। अन्य जिल्लाहरू मध्ये पाटन (१३.४), नवलपरासी (६.०), रसुवा (५.२), नुवाकोट (५.२), सिन्धुपाल्चोक (४.१), पाल्पा (४.०) र सबैभन्दा कम काभ्रे जिल्ला (१.३) का तीर्थयात्रीहरू देखिएका छन्। यस तीर्थयात्रामा आएका विदेशीहरूमा संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका, संयुक्त अधिराज्य र इटालीका क्रमशः रहेका देखिन्छन्।

गोसाइँ कुण्डमा गरिने धार्मिक यात्रा र यस बीचमा देखिने सांस्कृतिक अन्तरसम्बन्धबाट विभिन्न जातिहरू बीच रहेको सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक समन्वयात्मक भावनालाई अझ बढि संगठित बनाउने काम गरेको पाइन्छ। मेलाको अवसरमा व्यक्तिहरूबीच सहयोग, सद्भाव बढ्नुको साथै जुनसुकै समुदाय र जातिको भए पनि त्यसले यस स्थललाई हामी नेपालीहरूको साझा स्थल हो भन्ने भावनाको विकास गर्न मद्दत पनि गरेको छ।

पर्यटकीय विकासका पक्षहरू

लाइटाइ राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज भित्रपर्ने यो क्षेत्र नेपालको उत्तरी भेकको एक महत्वपूर्ण पर्यटकीय क्षेत्र हो। यहाँका रमाइला दृश्य र यहाँको स्थानीय सांस्कृतिक विशेषतालाई नजिक बाट हेर्न पर्यटकहरू यहाँ आउने गर्दछन्। खास गरेर गणेश हिमाल, लाइटाइ हिमाल, मनास्लु, अन्नपूर्ण दोस्रो आदि हिमश्रृंखलाका दृश्यहरू यहाँबाट सजिलै देख्न सकिन्छन्। यहाँको लौरी विनायक एक महत्वपूर्ण र उच्च लेक भएकाले यहाँको

वातावरण अरुभन्दा बेग्लै देखिन्छ। साथै यहाँबाट सुरु हुने पैदल यात्राले लाङटाङ क्षेत्रको प्राकृतिक रम्यताको अनुभूति गराउँछ। लौरी विनायकदेखि पूर्वतर्फ रहेका अनेकौं कुण्डहरूले यहाँको वातावरण नै आकर्षक बनाएका छन्। यसैले आजभोलि खास गरेर यहाँ अगस्तदेखि सेप्टेम्बर महिनासम्म पर्यटकहरूको घुइँचो लाग्ने गर्दछ।

पर्यटकीय विकासको लागि सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष नै यहाँ रहेको हरियाली र प्राकृतिक दृश्यावली हो। यहाँका वन जंगल अहिलेसम्म काट्न नपाउने कडा कानूनले गर्दा पूर्णरूपेण जोगिन गएको छ भने पर्यटकहरू बस्ने लायकका होटलहरूको विकास पनि भएको छ। त्रिशुलीदेखि धुन्चेसम्मको बाटो पीच हुन गएका काठमाडौँबाट यहाँ आउन समयको दूरी कम हुँदै जानेछ। साथै यो बाटो पीच भएमा अझ आन्तरिक तथा बाह्य पर्यटकहरूको आगमनमा वृद्धि पनि हुनेछ।

मेलाको अवसरमा यत्रतत्र गरिने फोहोरले कतै पर्यटकहरूको छविमा नराम्रो असर पर्ने होइन भनि पनि सतर्कहुन आवश्यक छ। खास गरेर पूर्णिमाको अधिल्लो रातमा जुन रूपमा मानिसहरूको भीड जम्मा हुन्छ त्यस भीडले जताततै फोहोर गरिदिने हुनाले पोखरीको स्वच्छता अनि निर्मलतामा आँच आउन थालेको देखिन्छ। नियम कानूनले मात्र रोकथाम गर्ने प्रयास भन्दा पनि सबै तीर्थयात्रीहरूले यस कुरामा मनन गरी आ-आफ्नो बानीमा सुधार ल्याउनु पर्ने देखिन्छ। साथ साथै जथाभावी पैसा र फूलहरू चढाएर पोखरीको निर्मलतालाई पनि असर पार्ने भएको हुनाले कुनै निकायले यससम्बन्धी कुनै निश्चित व्यवस्था र नियम बसाल्न आवश्यक भैसकेको छ। पर्यटक बस्ने नाममा यहाँ रहेका स्थायी होटल नै पोखरीको ठीक पश्चिमी ढिलमा बस्न गएका छन्, यसो हुँदा उक्त होटलको फोहोर त्यहीँ पोखरीमै गइरहेको र चर्पी पनि त्यहीँ भएको हुनाले पोखरीको स्वच्छता कतिसम्म रहन सकला यो कुरा पनि विचारणीय नै छ।

गोसाईकुण्डको सुधारका लागि मीथ दिइएका सुझावहरूको पालना हुनु अत्यावश्यक छ। यदि गोसाईकुण्डको स्वच्छ र निर्मलतालाई आँच आयो भने हाम्रो तीर्थस्थलमा मात्र त्यसको असर नभई हाम्रो पर्यटकीय क्षेत्रलाई पनि नराम्रो असर पर्न जाने कुरा निश्चित छ।

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RESEARCH NOTE

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH STATUS IN JIREL COMMUNITY

Pashupati Nepal

Introduction

The health status of population is a reflection of the socio-economic and cultural development of the country and is shaped by a variety of factors such as the level of income, housing, sanitation, water supply, education, employment, health consciousness, personal hygiene and the coverage, accessibility and affordability of health care delivery services (Ali 1991: 1). Thus, health is a function, not only of medical care, but also of the overall development of society— cultural, economic, educational, social and political. Health status of a society is intimately related to its value system, its philosophical and cultural traditions and its social, economic and political organization. Each of these aspects has a deep influence on health, which in turn influences all these aspects (Voluntary Health Association, 1992: 175). Poverty is a fertile ground on which a number of diseases suffered by the poor grow and affect. In addition, poverty is directly related to poor social status, which drastically reduces the access of the poor to the available health care resources, making them further vulnerable to diseases (Resource Centre for Primary Health Care 1997:1). Thus the health status of an individual, a community or a nation is determined by the interplay and integration of two ecological universe: the internal environment of man himself and the external environment which surrounds him. A full understanding of health needs to see humanity as a part of an ecosystem. The human ecosystem includes, in addition to the natural environment, all the dimension of man-made environment— physical, chemical, biological, in short, our culture and all it's products (Park 1994: 17).

In Nepal, the state of health all over the country is not satisfactory. Nepal has been facing many health-related problems due to poor socio-

economic and cultural environment, inadequate safe drinking water supply and health care facilities, malnutrition, under nutrition, poor environmental sanitation and high population growth. Health status is uniformly poor in Nepal-with infant mortality rates (98 per thousand live births) among the highest in the world and life expectancy (55 years) the lowest. Child Mortality is 165:1000 live births and maternal mortality is 875:100000 live births (Nepal South Asia Centre, 1998: 56-59).

Although the health care delivery system in Nepal has been expanded significantly over the last 35 years, most people do not get the benefits of the existing health services. This is so for several reasons: because it is not accessible for them, because they can not afford to use them for economic reasons, because they do not have adequate information about them or because they do not believe that these services can help them. The people of the Jiri VDC are no exception from the situation of our country and in the case of Jirel, the status of health is worse than the others due to their large-scale poverty, inaccessibility, illiteracy and traditional culture domain society. However, the present study attempts to analyze the maternal and child health status in the Jirel Community depending upon certain socio-culture factors.

Village Background

Jiri V.D.C. of Dolakha district is the study area for this study which is located between 27°35'-27°40' North latitude and 86°10'-86°15' East longitude. The total area covered by this V.D.C. is about 300 sq.km. and the altitude varies from 1600 m. to 3600 m. from the sea level. The average altitude of the V.D.C. is about 2000 meter. It is about 200 km. far from the capital and about 35 km. far from the Charikot, the district headquarter. Annual rainfall of this V.D.C. is about 2250 mm. Maximum temperature of January and June is about 11.9°C and 22.3°C respectively while the minimum temperature of the same months occur – 0.4°C and 17.1°C respectively. It is bordered by Jugu V.D.C. in north, Thulopatal and Kavre in west, Mali V.D.C. in east and Rasnal (Khimtikhola) of Ramechhap district in south.

Data and Method

A descriptive research design based on random sampling method was adopted in this study. The observed facts, conditions and events regarding the health

status of Jirels have been presented by adopting an exploratory interpretative approach. The study was conducted during 2055 B.S.

Out of the total number of households 1620, the number of Jirel's households is about 871 (Source: V.D.C. Office, 2054). On the basis of this information, the following procedure was applied to determine the sample size for the purpose of the study.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Formula: } N &= 16 pq/d^2 \\
 \text{Where, } N &= \text{Sample size,} \\
 p &= \text{Proportion of Jirel households,} \\
 q &= 1-p \text{ and} \\
 d &= \text{Degree of confidence} \\
 \text{Thus, } p &= 0.53, q = 0.47 \text{ and } d = 0.05 \text{ (assumed)} \\
 /N &= 16 \times 0.53 \times 0.47 / 0.05^2 \\
 &= \frac{3.98}{0.025} \\
 &= 159.2 = 160
 \end{aligned}$$

Thus, 160 households were taken as sample for the present study. To get the ward-wise sample households, the percentage of the households of the given ward to the total household was calculated and then, sample size was taken in that percentage. To select the individual household, method of random sampling was applied. For this, the list of the household owner was taken from the VDC office and then lottery method was adopted to select household for interview.

Date and other information for present study were obtained particularly by primary and then secondary sources. To collect the primary data, sample size was determined. To find out the information regarding the maternal and child health status a set of questionnaire was designed. Key information survey checklist was structured mainly to gather information regarding their traditions, religion, habits and cultural beliefs. After completion of the task of data collection they were checked and verified in the field.

After collecting the data and information, they were rechecked and tabulated manually under different headings and sub-headings. The techniques employed for the interpretation of the available data and information are mostly descriptive. Statistical tools are used wherever possible.

The Jirels are a relatively small ethnic group estimated to be only 3,525 individuals in 1985 (Blangero 1987, Quoted in J. Hamill et al, 200:53). Geographically they live in approximately nine villages, all of which are located in the Jiri region. Some ethnohistorical researchers have suggested that the Jirels are the descendants of a mating between a Sunwar woman and a Sherpa man (Fournier 1974 quoted in J. Hamill et al, 2000:54). It is clear that Jirel culture is closely related to that of the Sunwars (Bista 1980 Quoted in J. Hamill et al, 200:54). Both Jirel and Sunwar may be seen as belonging to a larger ethnic grouping known as the Kiranti (Fournier 1974 Quoted in J. Hamill et al, 2000: 54).

Jirel's population is very low in comparison to other ethnic groups of Nepal. The population data about Jirels provided by CBS seems very low due to under census. At the time of field visit, the key informants reported that some Jirels, who were migrated from Jiri 'Sikri valleys to other areas of the country, felt difficult to adjust in that community. That is why, they changed their original title and began to get titled as Thapa, Rai, Khadka etc. to be adjusted in the society. So, at the time of population census they were included as other titles rather than as Jirels

The population distribution of Jirels is highly concentrated to some parts of Dolakha and Sindhupalchok districts. Jiri-Sikri valley, Jungu Darka, Chetpu, Chhetrapa of Tama Kosi belts of Dolakha district and Buwanthali, Tyanthali, and Karthali villages of Sindhupalchok district are some densely populated major areas of Jirels. Similarly, Sindhuli, Chitwan, Makwanpur, Bara and Parsa and some eastern and central Terai areas to where Jirels migrated and settled. In India, they are settled in Bhopal, Calcutta, Sikkim and Darjeeling.

Maternal and Child Health status

Maternal Health Status: Child health is closely related to maternal health. A health mother brings forth a healthy baby. The mental and social development of the child is also dependent upon the mother. For these reasons, the mother and child are treated as one unit. The work burden for female in Nepal is higher than for male. Women contribute about two-thirds of the total number of hours worked throughout the country. They work in all aspects of cultivation. Most of the post harvest work goes to women. While women produce much of the food in the country, they are the most likely to be undernourished. The daily time input for home economic activities or "expanded economic activities" (food processing, water

fetching, food and fuel collection etc.) for female is higher than for male in Nepal but their control over the household economy is too lower than that of male. Women are not free to spend their income according to their needs and most of the households headed by male do not pay attention to the female health. The socio-cultural disparity in access to economic resources and social services are major reasons for their health hazards. Jirel mothers are no exception to the national syndrome of rural women situation.

Present study has gathered information regarding maternal and child health status by asking structured questionnaire for senior Jirel mothers who had given a birth during the last five years. In the sample households, the number of Jirel mothers, having at least one under five child birth, were 113.

Pregnancy and Antenatal Care: Traditionally, antenatal care has not been practiced by Jirel women. Pregnancy is usually diagnosed symptomatically by the woman herself. Jirel women (especially illiterate) are shy about discussing pregnancy and it becomes known to outsiders only when there are visible signs. Women are still not encouraged to seek antenatal care due to cultural modesty.

Out of the 113 mothers, 70 mothers (61.9 percent) reported that they did not take any clinical examination during their pregnancy and only 13 mothers (38.1 percent) had taken tetanus toxic (TT) immunizations. Most of the Women were not taken extra-antenatal foods. It was observed that mothers themselves have no proper knowledge about the need of extra foods during pregnancy.

Table 1
Consumption Pattern of Antenatal Food in Sample women

Categories	Number	Percent
More than usual	19	16.8
Same as usual	65	57.5
Less than usual	16	14.2
Do not know	13	11.5
Total	113	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2055

Table 1 is an indicator that only 19 mothers (about 16.8 percent) took additional food during pregnancy whereas 65 mothers (about 57.5 percent) reported that they took food same as usual. Similarly, the mothers reporting 'less than usual' and 'do not know' were 10 (about 14.2 percent) and 13 (about 11.5 percent) respectively. Vomiting and feeling uneasy after food were identified as main reasons by sample mothers for eating less than usual.

At the time of survey, it was found that the pregnant Jirel mothers were also smoking and drinking alcohol without caring about health hazards. About 43 percent of the sample mothers reported that they were smoking cigarettes at the time of pregnancy from five to 20 a day. In general, from the inception of pregnancy to its termination, no special nutritious diet is consumed by women, and their intake of iron, calcium and vitamins during pregnancy is poor.

Delivery Services: In Jirel community as other community of Nepal birth is seen as ritually polluting. This means that the place of birth is also regarded as polluting. Therefore, most of the birth take place in non ventilated ground floor. Some births take place in animal shed also. Prior to actual delivery, the women in labor is not considered polluting and can be touched and assisted by family members. Traditional practices including massaging the laboring women, chanting mantras, performing rituals and giving special food and drinks are common before delivery. However, information regarding place of delivery and type of assistance received by sample mothers during delivery for last birth occurred in the last five years in the sample households were gathered for this study. Majority (about 84 percent) of the sample mother respondents reported that the last births were delivered at homes whereas only about 16 percent births were delivered at hospital. Similarly, the respondents reported that only about 19.5 percent of the births were delivered by trained health workers, 28.9 percent by neighbors and about 27.4 percent by relatives. Remaining about 14.2 percent of the births were delivered by *Sudeni*/Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA) including trained and untrained (Table 2)

Table 2
Assistance During Delivery

Assistance	Respondents	Percent
<i>Sudeni/TBA</i>	16	14.2
Relatives	31	27.4
Neighbors Hospitals/ Health workers	44	38.9
	22	19.5
Total	113	100.0

Source: Field, Survey, 2055

Post-natal Care: The new mother had baby and family members who come into contact with the birth pollution is considered ritually impure until a purification ceremony is performed. In the third day of new born child, the head of the family sprays the 'Ghahat' all over the house and to all family members including newly born child. But the mother is not permitted to touch drinking water and other things of that house up to the seventh days. It is believed that if any farm works are conducted within seven days the productivity of the soil will decrease and planted corps will dry-up. In the seventh day, mother of the newly born child washes herself and 'Gahat' is sprayed inside and outside the house with ritual ceremony. Now, the mother, baby and the total family members are considered pure. This kind of ritual beliefs has been helping to regain health and strength of mothers. Certain heavy works are restricted at least for one month.

There are no strict restrictions on eating green and leaf vegetables as postnatal feeds in Jirel community. Meat, oil and ghee are mostly included as postnatal foods to build strength and increase milk supply and the new mothers are fed three times a day rather than just two. The varieties and duration of additional food supplement was found dependent upon the income, social status and behaviour of the family.

Child Health Status

Child health status is one of the basic indicators in examining the people's health status. After birth, the child is dependent upon the mother. That is why, child health is closely related to maternal health. The mental and social development of the child is also dependent upon the mother. It is said that the basic determinants of a child's health are in the hands of parents, not doctors. The socio-economic and cultural factors mostly affect the child health. For instance, the availability and quality of health care, breast

feeding practices, literacy level of the parents (especially of mothers), age old habits, customs, traditions, affecting cleanness, eating, clothing, child care etc. impinge influence upon child health status.

In the sample households, there were 47 infants of under one years age group and 1258 children of under five age groups.

Breast feeding and Weaning Practices: Exclusive breast feeding is necessary and sufficient to meet the nutritional needs of infants up to the age of 4-6 months (UNICEF, 1992:60). It protects the child from diarrhea and acute respiratory infections (ARI) and other diseases. It is quite encouraging that hundred percent of the sample mothers breastfeed their children in Jirel community and however, it seems insufficient and inadequate for the child beyond 6 months of age. The sample mothers having under five children informed that more than three-fourths (about 75.1 percent) of them breastfeed their children for one or more years. The prolonged breastfeeding (for more than two years) was practiced by 57 mothers (about 59.4 percent). Mothers who worked as porters suffered from diseases, and they breastfed their children for only six months (Table 3).

Table 3
Breastfeeding by Sample Jirel Mothers

Duration	Respondent	Percent
6 Months	10	8.8
1 years	17	15.1
1-2 years	29	24.7
More than 2 years	57	50.4
Total	113	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2055

It was identified that some Jirel mothers provide cow or buffalo milk to the newborn until the mother milk comes in. When sample mothers were asked how often they breastfed their newborns, about two-thirds (71.7 percent) of the sample respondents replied whenever the baby cries. However, in reality, most women were engaged in various domestic works including farming, cattle rearing and fuel and fodder collection away from the house and therefore can not breastfeed so often.

Traditionally, girls at five months and boys at seven months of age are introduced to solid food at the rice feeding ceremony (*pasni*) in Jirel

community. This is a culturally acceptable and scientifically approved time for introducing semi-solids. However, the ritual does not confirm that the child will continue to receive semi-solid as required.

Table 4
Variety of Foods Offered to the Child
by Sample Jirel Mothers

Food Items	Respondents	Percent
Milk-Dal-Bhat/Dhindo	78	69.0
Lito	40	35.4
Meat and fish	13	11.5

* The figures are based on multiple responses

Source: Field Survey, 2055

Table 4 indicates the fact that a majority of the infants were fed milk-dal-bhat/dhindo and lito by Jirel mothers. Very few mothers fed meat and fish to their children occasionally.

Infant Mortality: It is an indicator of socio-economic environment and general health-status of a particular area. Infant mortality is higher when mother has no education. Lack of proper spacing between births, unhygienic conditions at the time of birth, inadequate immunization coverage, low status of knowledge regarding preventive care, lack of proper and timely health services are some important reasons which affect the infant mortality.

The total number of deaths under one year of age in the sample households was 5, out of 47 live births during a period of one year. Thus, the calculation of the infant mortality rate of the sample households comes about 106.38/1000, which is slightly higher than the national average (i.e. 102/1000).

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) was calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{IMR} = \frac{\text{Do}}{\text{B}} \times 1000$$

where, IMR = Infant Mortality Rate

Do = Number of deaths of under one year of age during a period of one year

B = Number of live births at that period.

Table 5
Causes of Infant Mortality in Sample Households

Causes	Number	Percent
Incapable to breastfedding	1	20.0
Diarrhea/Vomiting	1	20.0
Fever/Typhoid	2	40.0
Not identified	1	20.0
Total	5	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2055

Table 5 shows the fact that the large proportion of the infant (about 40 percent) died due to fever/typhoid and remaining other causes comprise equal proportion during a period of one year. From the survey, it was identified that an overwhelming majority (about 80.5 percent) of the sample mothers preferred first to go to the *dhami/jhankri* ('phombo' in Jirel language) for the treatment of their children even in diarrhea cases. Inaccessibility and lack of well-equipped modern health facilities were other reasons for their deaths.

Immunization: Immunization is one of the most important indicators of child health status which helps to reduce child morbidity and mortality. Information regarding immunizations of infants (under one year of age) was obtained by asking the mother respondents to show the vaccination card or to recall (who had lost their cards) which vaccines were given to their infants. In sample households, out of 47 infants, 12 (about 25.5 percent) had not received any immunization. The percentage of children receiving DPT, BCG, Polio (OPV), Measles and TT were 74.3, 62.8, 94.3, 45.7 and 34.3 respectively (Table 6).

Table 6
Immunization Status of Infants in Sample Household

Types	Number immunized	Percent (coverage)
DPT	26	74.3
BCG	22	62.8
Polio (OPV)	33	94.3
Measles	16	45.7
TT	12	34.3

** The figures are based on multiple response*

Source: Field Survey, 2055

The reason for not providing immunization to their infants, about three fourths (about 75 percent) respondents informed that they did so because they believed their God will care them. Similarly, lack of knowledge regarding positive impact of immunization on their infants was identified another important reason for not providing immunization.

Conclusions

Majority of the sample Jirel mothers were not taken any clinical examination during their pregnancy including tetanus toxic (TT) immunization. Most of the women did not take extra-antenatal foods. It was found that the pregnant Jirel mothers were also smoking and drinking alcohol.

Usually, the delivery services are not scientific in Jirel community. Traditional practices including massaging the laboring women, chanting mantras, performing rituals and providing special food and drinks are common before delivery. Majority of the last birth by sample women, were delivered at home. The assistance during delivery was provided mostly by neighbors.

The ritual adopted by Jirel community was found positive for postnatal care to some extent. It is believed that if any farm works are conducted by new mothers within seven days before spraying the 'Gahat' inside and outside the house with ritual ceremony, the productivity of the soil will be decreased and the planted crops will dry-up. It has been helping to regain health and strength of mothers to some extent. The varieties and duration of additional food supplement was found dependent upon the income, social status and behavior of the family.

About half of the sample mothers were found breast feeding their children for two or more years. Majority of the mothers who are engaged in farming, cattle rearing and fuel and fodder collection found unable to breastfeed their children frequently at short time interval. Supplement of semi-solid and solid foods are provided to the children only after rice feeding ceremony (Pasni).

The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) was found 106.38/1000 live births, which is slightly higher than the national average i.e. 102/1000 live births. Fever/typhoid, diarrhea/vomiting and incapability to breast-feeding were the main causes for infant mortality. Majority of the sample mothers reported that they prefer to go to the *Dhāmi/Jhankri* ('Phombos' in Jirel language) for the treatment of their children even in diarrhea cases.

With regard to the immunization status of infants of under one years of age, about one-fourths of the surveyed infants had not received any immunization. Most of the sample mothers who had not immunized their infants reported that the God will care of them. Thus, to enhance the existing maternal and child health status in Jirel Community there should be adequate understanding of the socio-cultural background of Jirels, perception of diseases, their beliefs, taboos and a study of the health culture at the micro-level. Positive values and traditional skills should be encouraged.

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RESEARCH NOTE

FOREST RESOURCES OF NEPAL: DESTRUCTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

Vinod P. Shrestha

Introduction

Forests have been an important component of the earth's environment ever since this planet cooled down sufficiently to support life. Forest is a very important resource for keeping the environment clean and in a balanced state particularly in a mountainous country like Nepal. As a result of population pressure on the forest resources such as shifting cultivation, over grazing, commercial felling of trees and encroachment for agricultural land, forest resource in Nepal is being depleted to a great extent resulting in severe ecological consequences in the form of soil erosion, land slides and flood hazards (Shrestha 1986: 166). It is obvious that destruction of forests also means, at the same time, the destruction of ecosystem of soils, plant communities and animal communities leading to severe environmental consequences (Martens 1983: 2). In recent years, high rate of population growth leading to consequent pressure upon forests has led to widespread deforestation causing severe environmental problems in Nepal. The main objective of this paper is to analyse environmental impact of deforestation in Nepal. This paper, after throwing light on the brief geographical setting, seeks to analyse the importance and pattern of forest resource use, highlights the present state of the forest and analyses the causes and environmental implications of deforestation in Nepal. The analysis is based on available secondary data.

The kingdom of Nepal, which occupies one third of the Himalayan mountain system, is a land of diversity where the terrain is highly complex and the topography extremely rugged. In Nepal, the largest latitudinal

gradient is found within its territory (from 60 metres in the eastern Tarai to 8848 metres above sea level in the Great Himalaya) within the aerial distance of about 150 km. About 75% of the total land of the kingdom is covered by mountains and hills and the remaining part is covered by plains. The most obvious regional differentiations are the plains (Tarai), the hills (Pahad) and the high mountains (Himal) which form the three broad geographic regions with its own distinctive environment. The above mentioned geographic regions roughly correspond to the altitudinally arranged ecological zones of Nepal.

The topographic extremes of the kingdom of Nepal have resulted in vertical distribution of different climatic regions. In Nepal, within a short aerial-north south distance-of about 150 km, four vertically distributed distinct climatic zones, e.g. tropical, sub-tropical, temperate and tundra can be identified. Broadly speaking, the mean temperature for the whole country is about 16°C. increasing from north to south whereas the average rainfall is 150 cm decreasing from east to west (Gurung, 1968: 4) which shows the common characteristics of temperature and rainfall distribution in Nepal. Because of extreme topography and consequent climatic regions, natural vegetation in Nepal range from the tropical luxuriance in the south to the sub-Alpine vegetation in the north.

Importance and Use of Forests

Forests are renewable natural resources that play an important role in maintaining the hydrological cycle, nutrient cycle and maintain climatic balance (Sharma, et al. 1992: 11). Forest constitutes a major resource base because it plays an important role in protecting top soils against soil erosion and land slides, in producing regular flow of clean water, in reducing danger of flooding by arresting the velocity of rain water through canopy cover, and protecting crops and human settlement against destructive natural hazards (Shrestha. 1986-88). Forests also provide valuable organic matter in the form of leaf litter to agricultural lands, fodder to the livestock and medicinal herbs, wild fruits, timber, fuel wood to human beings. Forests are also sources of different kinds of raw materials for industries. Thus the forest is one of the most important renewable natural resource base closely associated with the daily life of the people which keeps the mountain ecosystem in a balanced state.

Forests in Nepal as stated above, constitute the most important resource upon which almost the entire population in the rural areas depends for their

livelihood. Forests are the main source of fuel wood, building materials, fodder for the animals and raw-materials for different forest based industries. Forests still provide food, fuel, fodder and extra income to the villagers through the sale of firewood, timber, medicinal herbs and charcoal. Due to multifarious utility of forests, there has been an increasing population pressure for sustaining their basic life support system (Shrestha, 1986: 177). In Nepal, particularly in the remote areas, people still enjoy traditional rights to utilize the resource through encroachment for agricultural land, grazing animals, cutting wood for timber and fuel purposes. Apart from fuel, fodder and timber, forests have been utilized for fencing, making different kinds of agricultural tools and for other local development and construction purposes such as school and public buildings, bridges etc. In course of fulfilling the basic needs of the people through different uses, forests are being depleted to a large extent leading to environmental consequences.

State of the Forests

Reliable and authentic data on forest coverage and its distribution is still lacking in Nepal. In this situation it is very difficult to assess the actual coverage and extent of forests in Nepal. Time series data pertaining to comparable parameters are nonexistent. Estimates of the area under forest and standing volume of trees are at best based on gross assumption (Bajracharya and Gurung, 1992: 7). Robbe (1954) an U.N. expert on forestry estimated the total land under forest in Nepal to be 33%. After Robbe, the Forest Resource Survey of 1964 based on vertical aerial photographs taken during 1963-64 estimated the area under forest to be 45.47% of the total land area (Sharma and Amatya, 1978). After a decade, Task Force on Landuse and erosion Control committee was formed by National Planning Commission in 1974. The Task Force report estimated the forest coverage to be 34% of the total land area (National Planning Commission, 1974). Likewise the Energy Research and Development Group (ERDG) in 1976 estimated 29.9% of the total area under forest (ERDG, 1976: 115). According to the Sixth Plan (1980-85) the total area under forest was 29% (National Planning Commission, 1980). The statistics on forest cover as estimated in the Sixth Plan was based on the report on the inventory of the Watershed Condition (Nelson et al., 1980), which was based on 1975 Landsat 2 imageries considering forest having 50% or more crown cover (Coalition Nepal, 1992: 5). The Seventh Plan

(1985-90) reveals that the forest area in Nepal was 37.6% (National Planning Commission, 1985: 181). If we compare the figure for forest coverage as mentioned in the Sixth Plan and Seventh Plan, one can very clearly visualize that there has been an increase in the area of forest by 8.6% in Nepal. The figure on forest coverage as mentioned in the Seventh Plan was based on the preliminary estimate made by Land Resource Mapping Project (LRMP). If we rely on LRMP statistics, the data on forest coverage as mentioned in the Sixth Plan was under estimated. The LRMP (1986) calculations were based on aerial photographs and on the definition of forest having 10% crown cover (Coalition Nepal 1992: 5).

Adjusting the LRMP data the Master Plan for the Forestry Sector (1988) has mentioned the area under forest to be 6.2 million hectares (42% of the total land area) on the basis of the definition of forests having 10% crown cover. When the definition of forest having 40% crown cover or more is adopted, the forest area becomes 4.1 million hectares or 28% of the total area (Coalition Nepal 1992: 5). According to the Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation HMG/Nepal, four hundred thousand hectares of forest were destroyed in the Tarai and Inner Tarai region between 1964 and 1979, and additional one hundred and sixty thousand hectares of forests were destroyed between 1979 and 1985. With the destruction of 0.56 million hectares of natural forests, the total forest area in Nepal has been reduced to four million hectares or about 27% of the total land area of Nepal (The Rising Nepal. 1992). It has been estimated that the desirable area of forest for a mountainous country like Nepal should be about 60% (Sharma et al. 1992: 72) in order to keep the environment in a balanced state. Furthermore, it has been estimated the 10-15 hectares of forests are required to maintain one hectare of agricultural land on a sustainable basis (Sharma et al. 1992: 74 citing Ramana, 1989). Because of rapid population growth (2.1 percent per annum 1981-91) in Nepal and thereby leading to intense pressure on forest for fuel, fodder, timber and agricultural land and increasing demand for raw materials for forest based industries, the forests of Nepal are getting depleted every year. The intensity of deforestation in several parts of the country has considerably disturbed the ecological balance (Shrestha, 1993: 34). Moreover, the declining area of the forests in Nepal is reflected in progressively increasing soil erosion, flood hazards, droughts and declining productivity leading to environmental consequences. (Sharma and Manandhar 1981: 85).

Causes of Deforestation

Deforestation is a common phenomena in Nepal. The intensity and seriousness of the problem of deforestation had been noticed as early as 1954 (Robbe 1954). The members of Japanese scientific expeditions noted the phenomena of depletion of forest resources with specific reference to the hill areas in 1956 (Kawakita 1956) and by Hagen in 1961 (Hagen 1961). As a result of accelerating demographic pressure for fulfilling their basic needs the forest resources are getting depleted resulting in severe ecological consequences leading to threatening of the very existence of man himself. The intensity and magnitude of the problem was not that serious until 1957. The enactment of the nationalization of the private forest in 1957 was a landmark in rapid deforestation in Nepal. After nationalization of the forests the villagers reacted negatively, believing that their traditional rights of access and use of forests had been curtailed. As there were no land records, villagers had a strong incentive to destroy the forest so that the land could be claimed as private property after it was cleared and cultivated (Wallace 1983: 24). Migration of population from the hills to the entire Tarai region is a common phenomena which is also responsible for widespread deforestation in the Tarai. Environmental degradation and poverty in the hills are the push factors whereas eradication of malaria in the mid fifties and better economic opportunities in the Tarai are the pull factors of migration of population from the hills to the entire Tarai and Inner Tarai region in the early sixties. Because of uncontrolled migration from the hills throughout the Tarai and inner Tarai, heavy deforestation took place leading to severe depletion of valuable forest resources of the Tarai. It has been estimated that four hundred thousand hectares of forests were destroyed in the Tarai and Inner Tarai between 1964 and 1979. Likewise, planned resettlement programme launched by His Majesty's Government further led to deforestation in the Tarai region.

Increasing deforestation is the direct result of fast rate of population growth, on the one hand, and its varied and multifarious uses to sustain human life in subsistence economy prevailing over the country on the other. Almost all the rural people particularly in the hills and mountains of Nepal depend on forest resources—firewood for fuel, timber for construction purposes, and fodder to feed the animals. Thus the causes for deforestation are well known and the principal cause has been the people and the livestock, leading to enhanced requirement of farmland, timber and fuelwood and grazing respectively. The farmers keep livestock for manure, draught

power and for extra income. Huge quantities of vegetation are consumed by the livestock, either by roaming in the forests or stall fed in the villages. It is estimated that cattle overgraze the land by factor of nine, tearing up grass, crippling trees and eating seedlings before they can grow (Lean, 1983). This has led to negative impact upon regeneration of the forest area. With the increasing number of population and livestock causing ever rising demands per capita, the forests have been irrationally exploited to fulfill the demands. Forest fire is also one of the main causes of deforestation in Nepal. During the dry season (May-June) burning of forests and grassland is commonly used (Bajracharya 1983: 237) to stimulate early growth of grass for animals to graze. This is a forest devastating practice which leads to loss of mulch and exposes top soil to erosion.

Wood is the main source of fuel in rural Nepal. Fuelwood supplies 85% of Nepal's total energy needs (Malla and Shrestha 1983: 90). Each citizen consumes an average of 600 kg. of fuel wood per year. But the country's forests grow only around 80 kg. per person per year (Anker, 1981: 92). In this context Mauch, who conducted research work on fuel wood requirements in the eastern hills of Nepal, states that the consumption of forest products in the region is estimated to be higher than the forest reproduction rate by a ratio of about 3:1, and concludes that if the present rate of forest use persists, within 3 to 4 decades the remaining forests will be depleted (Mauch 1976: 127).

Because of lack of employment opportunities other than the subsistence agriculture, the people of the rural areas are forced to engage in deforestation activities such as charcoal making, sale of firewood, slash and burn agriculture, over grazing by animals, and unscientific exploitation of the medicinal herbs, specially rhizomes of the herbal plants (Shrestha 1986: 187). These activities coupled with food scarcity as in indirect cause have further led to deforestation to compensate for the declining land productivity on the one hand and the ever rising population and consequent demands for more food on the other. It can be further emphasized that deforestation in Nepal has been a continuing process to mainly due to the extension of agricultural land into what used to be forest (Bajracharya 1983: 228). This very process of deforestation for the occupancy of agricultural land is much in evidence in the hills of Nepal. Furthermore, the practice of slash and burn agriculture in the remote hills has also led to serious deforestation problems.

Before the abolition of the provision of commercial exploitation, contract and auctioning of the forests, wanton deforestation took place everywhere. But at present such devastating practices have been legally prohibited. Furthermore, over the years, mainly due to development activities such as construction of roads and extension of high power transmission lines have also led to serious deforestation along the alignments. In course of construction of roads and high power transmission lines, large number of trees were cut for melting tar and for the personal use of the workers as fuel and timber for temporary sheds. This has put a heavy burden on the surrounding forests along the sides of the roads.

Development of industries and tourism have also negatively impacted on the forests of Nepal. In the historical past, there were some traditional iron and copper mining and smelting industries in the hills of Nepal. But those activities have ceased since the last few generations because of the shortage of fuel resources. While those industries were in operation they were responsible for heavy destruction of the forests for making wood charcoal for fuel purposes (Acharya 1976: 73). Similarly, the establishment of an intensive carpet industry in the Solu valley (Eastern Nepal Himalaya) implied even more dramatic consequences. The dying process of wool requires a lot of firewood. This led to wide destruction of forests near the settlement in less than 15 years (Schild 1976: 8). In recent years, the soaring number of tourists and mountaineers in Nepal is damaging the ecology of the Himalayas. The heavy influx of trekkers and mountaineers in the Himalayas have created a booming trade of fire wood for local villagers, and they are depleting forests in the ecologically sensitive areas causing heavy deforestation especially along the trekking routes (Shrestha 1976: 90). One trekker-with his party of porters, kitchen help, and guides - consumes as much wood as ten Sherpas, and the impact on the forest is devastating (Bishop 1988: 629). The problems of deforestation have been further aggravated by mushroom growth of the lodges, hotels and restaurants along the trekking routes and in the tourist destination areas which require a huge quantities of timber for construction. Wood planks are also used for roofing the rural house especially in the mountains below timber line. The demand for wood in the rural areas for housing and construction purposes is lower, but it is cut with extremely low effectiveness. For 1m³ of construction wood and shingles about 10-20m³ of timber is cut (Mauch 1976: 125). This has also led to widespread deforestation in the upper hills

and mountains of Nepal. Because of increasing rate of deforestation, Nepal in the recent years is facing severe environmental consequences.

Environmental Implications of Deforestation

Deforestation is a serious problem in Nepal. If the present process of deforestation continues in the years to come it can be predicted that the forest resource base will no longer be able to meet the basic needs like timber for construction, fuelwood for cooking and heating, fodder for livestock and land for cultivation. The deforestation process and expansion of farmland on more and more marginal areas (not based on agricultural capabilities) in the Nepalese hills and mountains have resulted in changing landuse pattern. Over exploitation and mismanagement of the deforested land along the hill slopes have set in the process of environmental degradation in the valleys right upto the Tarai in the form of debris deposition, flood hazards and droughts. Thus, loss of fertile agricultural lands along the valleys in the middle hill region of Nepal has lead to the decrease in agricultural production, forcing the people to occupy more marginal and ecologically sensitive steep hill slopes at the cost of the forest for cultivation leading further to severe environmental degradation (Shrestha 1994: 140).

The destruction process of forest resources in Nepal has resulted in climatic changes leading towards aridity and loss of organic topsoil. It is estimated that every year the monsoon rains wash away more than 12 tones of soil from each acre of the hill side. In the worst areas 80 tones of soil are ripped from each acre (Lean, 1983). The process of soil erosion in turn has lead to sheet and gully erosion, land slides, flood hazards and droughts. The effects are permanent lowering of soil productivity with a high degree of instability and frequent crop failure, changing the hydrological cycle by increasing run off, reducing water retaining capacity of the soil and increasing silt load in the river beds along the valley and plain areas (Shrestha 1983: 97-99). The present pattern of forest resource use in Nepal has led to severe deforestation which has a direct impact upon soil erosion and landslides. Because of alarming rate of deforestation in Nepalese hills and mountains, soils have been eroded in different forms. The soils which are denuded soon become compacted leading to immediate run off causing further massive soil and gully erosion and land slides. The run off water cannot infiltrate into the compact soils, and this causes reduction in ground water table level further leads to drying up of springs and streams which are

important sources of drinking water and irrigation. Furthermore, deforestation leads to loss of bio-diversity which is crucial for sustaining human life and livelihood. In recent years because of uncontrolled deforestation the bio-diversity in Nepal (both the plants and the animals) has been threatened to a large extent leading to severe problems to preserve the dwindling bio-diversity.

Because of widespread deforestation in the watershed of the rivers along the upper hill slopes, the incidence of flooding of swollen rivers flowing down from the hills has been increasing every year. It has been observed that some of the river beds in the Tarai area are rising 15 to 30 cm every year (Rana 1976: 115). This in turn has resulted in changing the course of the rivers causing serious damage to the lives, property and fertile agricultural lands in the Tarai plain. During the third week of July, 1993, heavy downpour severely hit most of the districts of Nepal causing landslides, devastative floods, and untold misery. The severely affected districts were Sarlahi, Makawanpur, Rauthat and Chitwan. By September 10, 1993 about 1157 persons died along with 67374 families and 4,28,851 persons being affected by the floods. Similarly 15,029 houses were completely destroyed, 18,565 were partially damaged and 36,929 hectares of agricultural land were seriously affected or damaged by devastating floods. According to the press release of the Home Ministry, HMG/Nepal, by September 10, 1993 it was estimated that the country's worst flash flood altogether damaged property worth 4.87 billion rupees (International Forum 1993: 3). The tragedy today is that the level of deforestation in Nepal has reached a critical stage as to make the subsistence lifestyle even more miserable. Moreover, further deforestation in the watersheds of different rivers of Nepal will result undesirable environmental consequences. To conclude, uncontrolled deforestation in Nepal will result in undesirable consequences which beyond a certain stage will become very difficult to reverse the deteriorating environment to a balanced state.

Concluding Remarks

Because of increasing population pressure, forest depletion is, on the whole a general phenomena in the country (Shrestha, 1993: 33). In recent years Nepal's forest resources have been seriously threatened. The obvious causes of deforestation are conversion of forest land to agricultural land, shifting cultivation, forest fire, commercial and illegal logging and poaching in the forest and firewood extraction. Deforestation has upset the balance of other

resource bases particularly the land and water resources. This has caused socio-economic and environmental problems in the form of soil erosion gully formation, land slides, flood hazards, siltation in the river beds and valleys, drying up of springs, droughts in the dry season and degradation of the agricultural land. Consequently the food problem has intensified the problem along with the ever increasing population pressure leading further to deforestation. The twin effects of deforestation seem to be adversely influencing the productivity of agricultural land and stability of mountain and hill ecosystem of Nepal (Shrestha and Sharma 1980: 52). To alleviate the problems of deforestation, greater opportunities to earn a living outside agriculture should be made and much emphasis should be laid on the use of alternative energy to relieve the pressure on forest for fuel wood (RECAST 1981) along with drastic population control measures should be adopted to reverse the problem.

For regeneration of the dwindling forests, massive afforestation programmes involving local people in the barren hills and the watershed areas of large hydropower plants and irrigation projects should be encouraged on a war footing. At the same time, one should realize that regeneration of forests would be impossible unless open grazing and over grazing is stopped. Regeneration of the dwindling forests in Nepal is a great and challenging task that the government alone may not be able to carry out without the active cooperation and participation of the local people. This requires the people to realize that they have a close relationship with the forest resources on which they depend for their livelihood. Moreover, it calls for immediate attention of the planners and policy makers for remedial action for the preservation of the dwindling forests of Nepal.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

NEVER LOST IN HIMALAYAN SPACE

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Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices. 1999. Edited by Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum Zürich. 278 pages. Swiss Price Fr. 20. ISBN 3-909105-36-X.

Overview

Getting anthropologists and linguists to contribute articles for a shared volume can be as risky as asking genetically close but socially estranged cousins to have dinner together. Whilst both the academics and the cousins might have a great deal in common, something appears to have gone sour at an early stage in their relationship, and attempts at dialogue may be strained to say the least. Given these challenges, the achievement of Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle in editing *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices* is all the more impressive. In this well-conceived and beautifully designed collection, Bickel and Gaenszle have gathered together seven essays by accomplished scholars working with various Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups in Nepal. The essays range from the anthropologically linguistic to the linguistically anthropological, and the quality of the writing demonstrates that the contributors have a deep understanding of both the theoretical issues of their discipline and notable respect for the ethnic communities with which they work. Although each of the seven contributions deals with a different feature of one of the groups making up Nepal's ethnic mosaic, they all address "the question of how notions of space and landscape find expression in Himalayan cultural traditions, languages, and practices" (page 9).

As a tribute to the successful collaboration between anthropologists and linguists, it comes as no surprise that Dr. Nick Allen's name occurs so frequently, both in the text of the contributions and in the bibliographical references. The editors of the volume are right to single Allen out for special praise for his pioneering research on the anthropology of Himalayan space. While Allen's 1972 article in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* kick-started the discussion on the "interrelationship between physical space and the representations of this space" (page 9), the editors of the volume make it clear in their *Introduction* that the debate has progressed in the 25 years that have elapsed since the publication of his "seminal study" (page 10) on Thulung Rai symbolic classification and language. Bickel and Gaenszle speak in particular of a "convergence in the last decades between the social and cognitive sciences, especially between anthropology and linguistics" (page 9), and while this genuine *rapprochement* is to be applauded, there is still a long way to go. The institutionalisation of anthropology and linguistics in universities, and the resulting explosion of new departments in these disciplines, has spawned a plethora of short-lived and ever-changing theoretical affiliations. This institutionalisation, however, has not itself led to greater understanding between anthropologists and linguists. The real co-operation and shared vision has not so much a disciplinary basis as a practical one, and it is shared by only a particular subgroup of researchers of each discipline: the fieldworkers. At the other extreme, 'armchair anthropologists' and theoretical linguists still have, on the whole, as little in common with each other as they did 30 years ago, and many continue to view each other's disciplines with a mixture of bemusement and professional mistrust. As unpalatable as linguistic jargon is to anthropologists, so too is the nebulous relativisation of anthropology infuriating to linguists. Only when jargon and vague cultural observations are dispensed with, in the manner so aptly demonstrated in *Himalayan Space*, can prejudices be overcome and real dialogue begin.

Readers interested in spatial categories in the Himalayan region would be well-advised to read Bickel and Gaenszle's *Introduction* with care. Prior to introducing the contributions to the volume at hand, they offer a concise and well-written overview of the literature and themes that have influenced writings in the field to date (pages 9 to 19).

One of the most interesting points raised in the *Introduction* is of two main constructions of "cultural landscape" at play in the Himalayan region,

what the philosopher of visual media John Berger might have called 'ways of seeing'. The Nepalese 'hill' conception is based on cardinal directions and mountain inclinations, whilst the Indic pattern relies more heavily on "body-based notions" (page 17). The editors are careful to present these two dominant ideas not as a binary structural opposition, but rather as non-competing spatial conceptions, both of which can exist within a community but be loaded with "different cultural valuations" (page 19). Despite this prudent disclaimer, it is clear that the Nepalese 'hill' model is more pervasive and "transparent" in Kiranti societies (page 17), whilst the Indic spatial construction is more clearly manifested in Newar culture. This theoretical construct serves as a useful framework for the whole volume.

The Contributions

The first essay in the volume, written by **Gérard Toffin**, offers a thoughtful analysis of spatial categories among the **Newars** of Kathmandu. According to Toffin, the aim of the article is to "analyse the ways the Newars think about separateness, spatial closure and boundaries" and to "open up a dialogue" between anthropologists and linguists (page 34). He succeeds in both arenas. His analysis of Newar spatial organisation places an understandable emphasis on the "concept of boundary" by which each spatial unit has an interior and an exterior delimiting the penetration or involvement of the outside world, and Toffin sees this as suiting the "general introversion of Newar society" (page 33). Moreover, he presents a convincing argument for suggesting that the pattern of enclosure of spatial units has been further reinforced by the *mandala* model so prevalent in Newar settlements and places of worship. Domestic buildings, temples and even the palaces of the Kathmandu Valley all constitute "enclosed spaces, segregated from the outside by clear boundaries" (page 50), borders which play a key role in the "symbolic conception of space" (page 67). The main body of Toffin's contribution is a detailed presentation of the inside-outside opposition in different realms of Newar life, ranging through the domestic, religious and architectural spheres. Although he presents his findings as schematic binary contrasts (see Table 2, page 67), Toffin convincingly argues that the relationship between two domains (the inside and outside) is "not one of simple opposition" (*ibid.*), and that the opposition is in fact complementary. Rituals related to boundaries, he writes, can be defined as "a means to unify contrasts and transactions with the environment outside"

(ibid.), a conclusion well-supported by his thorough description and careful analysis.

The second essay, by **Balthasar Bickel**, deals with **Belhare** cultural practices and language, both of which point to "a certain spatial structure of doing things, perceiving experiences and reasoning about the world in a 'Belhare way'" (page 77). Bickel's contribution is a genuine intellectual foray into cultural formalism in Belhara, and through his precise analysis, the reader is given an insight into the spatial ordering of this community and their language. With well-chosen examples, the author demonstrates that in common with other Kiranti societies, the left/right opposition is less pervasive in Belhara than "patterns and regulations" invoking up/down (page 74). There is a fascinating discussion on page 86 concerning *cautārās* (resting places), and how their distribution on the hill "inscribes into the landscape the mythological past and, thereby, power relations derived from it". Bickel's suggestion that "cultural practices are not fixed forever, but are constantly open to negotiation" (page 89) is an overtly anthropological statement and reaffirms his commitment to the interdisciplinary character of the volume. However, his division of spatial operations into the ecomorphic, geomorphic, aristomorphic and physiomorphic (pages 79-80), may not appeal to some readers wary of neologisms. Bickel's point is nevertheless an important one: "cultural formalism in Belhara draws upon five basic spatial operation types, each with its own geometry" (page 91), but his word choice at points obscures otherwise lucid observations: "an ecomorphically computed spatial trajectory is one where a perceived spatial division in the environment anchors the formal realisation of practices and cultural inscription" (page 80).

Broadly speaking, Bickel's conclusion is that spatial language and spatialised cultural formalism both depend on, and construct patterns of, verticality and geography. Given the interlinked nature of thought and speech that he so carefully describes in Belhara, this parallelism comes as no surprise. The only real question which remains is the causative direction of this parallelism, and Bickel's verdict is that the "homology between cultural formalism and language...is probably not due to a monodirectional Whorfian effect", but rather that the existing homology "relies on a common cognitive world", which in its turn is "closely related to the daily physical experience of people who do not travel much beyond the limits of their hill" (page 97). Bickel's final paragraph makes a bold assertion that initiates a further debate on landscape and language. If, as he asserts, the "up

and down of landscape" is so inextricably linked to "much of what is characteristic of the Belhare way of life", then what will happen to the language (not to mention the "common cognitive world") if and when the Belhare become more mobile? As ever-increasing numbers of rural villagers flock to Kathmandu for work and study, and as remote valleys all over the country are electrified, 'developed' and given motor road access, how will this affect the "spatial language and spatialised cultural formalism" (page 93) of communities like the Belhare? These issues could form the basis of an intriguing follow-up study.

Karen Ebert's paper documents and analyses UP-DOWN marking in some of the **Kiranti** languages of Eastern Nepal and addresses its importance as a "cultural concept in Rai mythology" (page 105). The article is clearly written, the data cogently analysed and her thesis well-argued with the help of interesting comparisons and clear tables, making this contribution a pleasure to read. Ebert takes the reader through the various grammatical realms and lexical forms that index direction or spatial trajectory in Kiranti languages, including case markers, roots, adverbs and verbs. Whilst many languages have some grammaticalised form to indicate altitudinal level, Ebert posits that the marking of relative altitude in demonstratives and in the locative case system in Kiranti is "unique among the world's languages" (*ibid.*). The UP-DOWN dimension is particularly clearly specified in verbs of motion which "describe a trajectory from a higher, lower or same-level place to the place of orientation" (page 113). Other spatial dimensions and orientations play but a minor role in Rai languages: cardinal directions are often reduced to UP (north) and DOWN (south), human body orientations are largely absent, and RIGHT-LEFT and IN-OUT distinctions are "marginal" (page 115). Having demonstrated the pervasiveness of altitudinal terms in these languages, Ebert then turns her attention to Rai mythology, and through carefully chosen examples, she conclusively demonstrates the "cultural embedding" of the linguistic system. According to Ebert's analysis, the UP-DOWN distinction is central to the mythologies of the Rai peoples. UP carries the association of "barrenness of the high mountains, ...poverty, but also...clean springs" and DOWN indicates "fertility and wealth, but also...uncleanness" (page 116). This "culturally relevant" opposition is both "based on geographical conditions" and "transposed onto the immediate environment" (page 124), but as Ebert points out, if there were "such a natural connection between environment and grammatical categories, one would expect the same

categories to exist also in other mountain areas" (page 125). Ebert acknowledges that most Camling speakers fail to use the altitudinal cases in everyday speech, and that the use of these grammaticalised forms seems to be restricted to the domain of mythological texts and cycles (page 116). As she goes on to suggest, one hypothesis could be that altitudinal cases developed first in ritual language, and only then "drained into everyday language" (pages 126-127). Ebert concludes with a timely reminder that categories in endangered languages "not present in the prestigious language—here Nepali—tend to be dropped first" (page 127).

Any student or scholar interested in the relationship between anthropology and linguistics would do well to read with care the final section of Ebert's article. Entitled *Language and environment*, these three pages offer a lucid presentation of the issues central to the volume as a whole. The uniqueness of a locative case system for indexing relative altitude raises serious anthropological and linguistic questions. As Ebert herself writes: "Why would a subgroup of languages grammaticalize such forms? One could easily lapse into ethnopsychological speculations here" (page 125). Ebert wisely avoids the unsatisfying and deterministic argument, and in place thereof opts for a far more prudent explanation worth citing in full:

Nobody today would go so far as to claim a predictable relationship between language and environment nor between language and culture. On the other hand it is trivial that certain pertinent traits of the environment tend to find some expression in language, and that culture and language form an intricate system of interdependencies. It is therefore not unlikely that the prevailing importance of the UP-DOWN dimension in religious beliefs, in the ever present mythological recitations, and in everyday life has led to its grammaticalization. (page 127)

In the following essay, **Martin Gaenszle**, the co-editor of the volume, addresses two major questions affecting spatial organisation in Kiranti communities in Eastern Nepal. He first evaluates the role of the vertical dimension in ritual journeys and thereafter turns to how "this verticality [is] constructed in the ritual texts" (page 137). In common with the other contributors to the volume, Gaenszle notes the "pervasive use of vertical oppositions in both cultural categories as well as linguistic expression"

among the Rai ethnic groups (page 135), but his particular focus is on how **Mewahang Rai** oral ritual texts have "apparently preserved complex cultural notions in a relatively 'archaic' linguistic form" (page 136). The article is divided into two sections, the first deals with three different types of Mewahang ritual journey, the *Ma:manme*, the *nāgi* and the *Sarandew*, and the second section offers an insightful analysis of some of the "grammatical forms through which the spatial orientation is projected" (page 150). Regarding the journeys themselves, Gaenszle raises a few important points. Whilst ritual journeys are documented in many areas inhabited by shamanistically-oriented ethnic groups, the intriguing feature of the Himalayan region in particular is that these journeys are "not only mythic...(as in other parts of the world) but journeys through the real landscape and thus combine cosmological notions with the known geography" (pages 136-137). Moreover, as Gaenszle goes on to explain, Mewahang ritual journeys are "based on images and concepts of not only a mythic geography...but also of a vertically layered universe which the ritual experts have to traverse in both, upward and downward, directions" (page 149).

In his discussion of the salient linguistic forms which occur in the ritual journeys described above, Gaenszle draws the reader's attention to an important discovery. Whilst it is not uncommon for a ritual journey to be "strongly anchored in the situational context of the performance site and its environment" (page 150); it is striking that in all cases, the "deictic origin (i.e. the point from which the situation is viewed) is the physical position of the priest" (page 156). Gaenszle's analysis thus goes further than simply repeating the well-attested observation that "the vertical dimension is deeply inscribed into the Rai languages" (page 150). He demonstrates how the movement of the tribal priest up and down the river "reveals the basic notion that the Rai see themselves as living in the middle level of a grand mountain slope which ascends towards the north and descends towards the south" (page 157). In line with Bickel and Ebert, Gaenszle also raises the all important question as to the "interrelationship of cultural categories and linguistic expression" (page 157), and he offers a restrained conclusion:

Neither can one say that it was culture that has shaped the form of the language nor that it was the language that has shaped the symbolism of the culture. It is likely, however, that both spheres have influenced each other... (page 159)

The real conclusion to the question of the importance of the vertical dimension to the ritual journeys of the Mewahang Rai is not the paragraph cited above but rather Gaenszle's insightful verdict that the vertical axis "can be seen as an ancestral axis: both UP as well [sic] DOWN are associated strongly with the ancestral forces. Thus the journeys appear to be a switch of dimensions" (page 160). When seen in this light, the notions that underlie the verbal and physical wanderings of the Mewahang are placed in a genuinely illuminating context.

Michael Oppitz's analysis of the body of myths chanted by **Northern Magar** shamans focuses specifically on cardinal directions, and in so doing, demonstrates the depth of his ethnographic insight. Couched in the explicitly spatial terminology of 'layers' and 'axes', Oppitz describes how this society 'thinks space' and how we, as researchers, might best make sense of these "various collective space concepts" (page 167). The specific myths dealt with in this chapter fall into two classes, *genesis stories* and *auxiliary myths*, and in the course of his elucidation, Oppitz points out some of the underlying structural elements of these oral accounts. Of particular note is the paragraph dealing with what he calls *tribal mandalaisation*: the fact that "the cardinal directions are correlated with supernatural beings", or from another perspective: "different beings of the spiritual world are attributed to or associated with different points of the compass" (page 181). This bold assertion is supported by a wealth of ethnographic data which demonstrate that "Magar spatial ideas cannot be reduced to a single dimension" (page 197). The picture that Oppitz paints is rather one of "a variety of orientations", including "side by side: two linear ones, one along an east-west, the other along a north-south axis" (*ibid.*), not to mention "three cosmic layers—empyrean sky, human earth and chthonian Netherworld" (page 200). His most crucial point, however, is that Magar conceptions of space are not abstract and isolating but rather fit into the geographical conditions which are "projected onto the pre-existing landscape" (*ibid.*). Whilst "some of the canonical genesis myths" do not exhibit "geographical exactitude" (page 190), the same should not be said of "soul-searching songs". According to Oppitz's analysis, the sites visited in these songs are:

real place-names of villages, river-crossings, restplaces and landmarks. They are geographically exact: one could draw a reliable trekking map with them. (page 189)

Northern Magar conceptions of space, are both conceptually sophisticated and rooted in the concrete experience of landscape. The final paragraph of Oppitz's contribution clearly sums up his point and is worth citing in full:

By superimposing the vertical layers of the tripartite universe onto the north-south axis of geographical reality, Magar space inventors have opened the door for multiple metaphorical passages from one realm to the other. And the unimaginable and intangible cosmos becomes visible... (page 200)

The penultimate contribution to the volume is by **András Höfer** and deals with the "verbal movements across space" (page 205) of a **Western Tamang** group in *Dhādīng* district of Central Nepal. Fittingly entitled *Nomen est numen*, Höfer's paper carefully approaches the issues of "the function and conceptual foundation of a specific pattern of place-name enumeration to be found in ritual texts" (ibid.) which are part of the oral tradition of the community with whom he works. A specific concern of the author, and a question to which he devotes some space to in his article, is whether the oral enumerations of this Tamang group correspond to what are commonly referred to as "ritual journeys" in the anthropological literature. Somewhat similar to Oppitz's approach, Höfer posits that these verbal journeys take place in the "concrete, physical landscape" (page 222) and not in "imaginary regions", and further points out that they follow "individual, ritual-specific 'itineraries'" (page 205-206).

This 40-page article is full to the brim of interesting and interwoven observations about the verbal and ritual acts of the Western Tamang. One of Höfer's main points is that although many rituals "open with, or culminate in" the invocation or embodiment of a divinity (page 209), the "name of the place takes precedence over the name of the superhuman being which controls and inhabits the place, as shown by the fact that many places occur without any mention of the divinity" (page 217). It is from this absolutely key finding that the present article draws its title. A further central point is that:

some of the most important shamanic journeys lead northwards and are explicitly said to have as their destination the mythical site of Tamang ethno-genesis and to follow the route the ancestors took during their migration from Tibet to the present settlement area in central Nepal. (page 221)

The final article in the volume, by Judith Pettigrew, also raises the above issue with regard to the Tamu-mai (Gurung) in Central Nepal. In Höfer's analysis however, the northward verbal journey "reverses the narrative chain of myth" (page 222). Instead of progressing from a point of origin to the present, as one would expect a standard myth to do, these journeys, the "structural backbone of the text" (page 212), return back into the myth. As Höfer so eloquently puts it, such a journey starts out in the "human 'here-and-now'" and proceeds "back" to divine origins" (page 222). When seen in this light, the "conceptual logic" of the oral texts would seem to be a "mimetic ritual technique applied to reduce distance (distance in space and time, between the physical and the metaphysical)", a particularly interesting paradox since "distance is reduced precisely by 'realising' it: it first has to be walked in words" (page 226-227).

The final five pages of Höfer's article are devoted to the historical background of these verbal itineraries and the wider Tibeto-Burman context, and thus make for very interesting reading. Höfer is careful not to make ungrounded assertions, but he does suggest some intriguing possibilities. The itineraries of the *syibda* recitation, for example, he quite plausibly suggests, might "ultimately go back to a former regional cult which involved not only Tamang, but also other population groups" (page 229). More generally speaking, the prototype of the modern Tamang verbal journey may be derived from "physical journeys undertaken in the cult of territorial divinities among ancient Bodic-speakers" (page 233). The historical transition from physical to verbal, he adds, may be in part due to the fact that the latter provided a "means of saving time, costs and physical effort" (*ibid.*). This conclusion would then support Nick Allen's "cautiously formulated suggestion" that the "verbal or symbolically enacted ritual journeys might derive ultimately from earlier physical journeys, such as processions" (page 230). And this in turn quite naturally leads to the well-supported inference that "enumerations of places and local gods in some of the latter rituals can probably be regarded as survival of the ancient pattern of the verbal journey" (page 231).

As can be seen from the above citations, Höfer's contribution is as ethnographically rigorous as it is intellectually insightful, and all readers would be well advised to pay special attention to the far-reaching conclusions of this article. Tucked away in an endnote, moreover, is a brilliantly-worded defence of native exegesis over anthropological abstraction, rounded off with a timely reminder that the Tibeto-Burman

languages of Nepal are not degraded forms of high Tibetan but dynamic and living tongues in their own right:

It should be stressed that my interpretation is based on the exegesis by my informants and attempts to render what the texts mean "here and now" to those by whom and for whom they are being sung or recited. This principle is followed on the understanding that despite certain gaps in the informants' exegesis, meaning cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context of the performance, and that despite some archaic forms and despite numerous borrowings from Tibetan, the language of the texts in question is Tamang, rather than some sort of corrupt Tibetan. Etymological meanings serve to throw some light on the sources and the development of Tamang oral tradition, rather than to "correct" present meanings as given by the informants. (note 3, page 234-235)

Höfer's emphasis is welcome: Himalayan ethnic groups and their cultures are all too often portrayed as being a deviant or archaic branch of one of the 'great' traditions which eventually subsume them, rather than as viable cultural entities in their own right.

The final contribution in the volume is by **Judith Pettigrew** and situates **Tamu** (Gurung) shamanic practice in a "wider discourse about history and identity" (page 247). According to Pettigrew, the Tamu "multi-dimensional" link to the landscape operates at both a "physical and conceptual" level (*ibid.*), and she offers an interesting comparative contrast to the situation described by Höfer in the preceding chapter. Whilst Höfer's conclusion focuses on the creation of verbal journeys from physical ones, Pettigrew explains how the "conceptual landscape of a shamanic journey has been made physically explicit and why urban-dwelling Tamu activists have chosen to re-enact the shaman's ritual journey on the ground" (*ibid.*). Pettigrew carefully demonstrates that 'thinking landscape' has important political dimensions and that the "parallel between shamanic and historical geography has only become explicit to the Tamu-mai since the restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990" (page 248). Given the increasingly political nature of ethnicity in Nepal, her focus on conflict and discourse is welcome, as it is noticeably absent from the other contributions to the present volume.

A particularly fascinating section of Pettigrew's article deals with the Tamu encounter with archaeology, specifically the collaboration between the *TPLS* (often rendered in English as the Tamu Religious and Cultural Organisation) and archaeologists at the University of Cambridge. As Pettigrew writes:

Archaeological research has plotted new routes into the landscape of the ancestors. The land has been re-mapped but in a different way and the archaeological maps do not always coincide with the existing interpretations. The new maps provided by the archaeologists have expanded indigenous understandings of the landscape and have also provided new material for interpretation. (page 259)

In short then, as this article aptly demonstrates, the "encounter with archaeology has generated a degree of accessibility to a previously closed ancestral world" (page 260). Physical journeys, particularly when backed up by Western science, can thus be used to prove the "historical 'authenticity' of the shamanic version of history, which can be counterposed against what now appears as the historical inauthenticity of the Hinduised version" (page 260-261). Moreover, Pettigrew does not limit her analysis to the description of this encounter, but rather goes on to make some insightful anthropological observations on the nature of identity, landscape and journeying in the Tamu context. She convincingly argues that identities are tied to a landscape which is "simultaneously shamanic, historic, and contemporary", a landscape which stretches to the "land of origin" in the north to the "eminently non-Hindu" south (page 249). And since identity is intimately tied up with place, journeying directly contributes to its construction, particularly given the "already established role that the ritual journey plays in the ongoing re-creation of identity" (page 264). Journeys into the historical landscape are thus "simultaneously journeys into the geographical and metaphorical landscape of the shamanic" (page 265), and as Pettigrew concludes:

History in landscape is being relocated and re-created it by those who have never left the landscape—the shamans. As interest is refocused on the past, it is simultaneously refocused on the shamanic. (page 265)

Somewhat akin to Höfer, Pettigrew makes a couple of extremely important points in footnotes which might have been better situated in the main text. Anthropologists involved in cultural preservation and ethno-activism should take note of the following, which deserves citing in full:

Saving culture is simultaneously changing culture. The activities of preservationists are leading to the emergence of innovative and syncretic cultural forms which have their origins in the past but their expression in the present. Change is thus taking place in the guise of continuity, and the process is facilitating the emergence of new Tamu identities. (note 11, page 268)

Conclusion

Himalayan Space is an excellent collection of well-written articles by scholars working in the Nepal Himalayas. The type setting and layout by Andreas Isler are superb and should be singled out for special praise. His beautiful design clearly demonstrates that the impact of such a book has as much to do with its form as with its content, and the photos between the chapters are a welcome visual break. The thematic backdrop to the volume as a whole has encouraged the contributors to address issues rather than disciplines, an increasingly common approach in Nepal studies. The success of this volume may be, in no small part, due to the relative seniority of the scholars involved: some have been working in the Himalayan region for over 30 years. This time depth, together with the important perspective that it surely brings, has facilitated greater inter-disciplinary thinking through the reanalysis and recombination of fieldwork findings in new ways.

While reading the *Introduction* by the editors, I was particularly reminded of the writings of John Berger. When I found an old BBC copy of *Ways of Seeing*, I noted with interest that it was first published in 1972, the same year as Nick Allen's seminal article. Some of the 'ways of thinking' put forward in *Himalayan Space* seem so reminiscent of Berger's own writing that there is no better way to conclude this review than with a citation from Berger himself:

Seeing comes before words...It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are

surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled...If we accept that we can see that hill over there, we propose that from that hill we can be seen. The reciprocal nature of vision is more fundamental than that of spoken dialogue. (pages 7-9)

Notes

Many thanks to Professor Dr. George van Driem and to Sara Shneiderman for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this review article. Needless to say, any errors are of my own making. Thanks also to my friend and colleague Nirmal Man Tuladhar of the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, for encouraging me to write an in-depth review of this important collection and agreeing to publish it in its unabbreviated length.

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BOOK REVIEW

Nepal Agriculture Perspective Plan. 1995. Agriculture Project Services Centre, Kathmandu and John Mellor Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission, His Majesty's Government of Nepal. XXXXIV+337 pages.

This is a brief introduction of Nepal Agriculture Perspective Plan (APP) 1995-2015. The APP is the 20-year plan of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission (NPC), prepared by Agriculture Project Services Centre (APROSC), Kathmandu and John Mellor Associates, Inc (JMA), Washington, D.C. with the support of Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other donor and cooperating agencies (e.g., World Bank, FAO). Readers of this 'review' may come up with two questions. First, why should the APP, a 1995 document be reviewed now? Surprisingly, many academic communities (e.g., professors/teachers, researchers, and others) who play significant roles in planning and development of Nepal are not fully aware of the APP. For example, the organizers of one of the biggest seminars on 'Environment and Agriculture' in Nepal saved their face by including a presentation of the APP only at the last minute of a year long planning period. They were simply unaware of the document. Such pathetic situation, actually, pushed me to put it in this academic journal, which is well distributed. Second, whether one of the contributors to the APP is eligible to review it? The APROSC and JMA prepared it on behalf of the NPC, His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Asian Development Bank, and they are considered as authors. Chapter 13 'Environment', however, is my contribution. Therefore, my intention is not to review it critically but to share the information about the existence of the APP with large academic communities. As a matter of fact, I am not very qualified to review such a document critically.

The main objectives of the APP are to: (i) accelerate the growth rate in agriculture through increased factor productivity, (ii) alleviate poverty and

achieve significant improvement in the standard of living through accelerated growth and expanded employment opportunities, (iii) transform the subsistence-based agriculture into a commercial one through diversification and widespread realization of comparative advantage, (iv) expand opportunities for an overall economic transformation by fulfilling the precondition of agricultural development, (v) identify immediate, short-term and long-term strategies for implementation and to provide clear guidelines for preparing periodic plans and programs in future. The underlying philosophy of the APP is that the national economic growth is possible only through a sustainable growth in the country's dominant agriculture sector, which has a favourable multiplier effect on the sectors as well. The APP was formulated through various interactions and consultative mechanisms, which can be divided into three stages— a widespread consultation process, preparation of 26 technical reports, and writing the plan. The whole process took two years. Thus, the APP benefited directly and indirectly from many people, particularly from Dr. Ram Prakash Yadav, the then NPC member, Dr. Devendra P. Chapagain, team leader of the APP, and Professor John W. Mellor, the main expatriate advisor, whose concept/vision, commitment, and contribution brought the document in the final shape.

The APP with the foreword from Mr. Manamohan Adhikari, the then Prime Minister, has mainly five parts, which are divided into chapters and presented logically. The first part, 'Strategy', has three chapters (introduction, strategy, and accounting for growth). These chapters have elegantly identified the existing problems in agricultural growth, key priority areas/objectives, and justifications why the APP was needed, and developed the APP strategy—accelerate the agricultural growth rate sufficiently to obtain strong multiplier effects on employment growth both in agricultural and nonagricultural sectors. The APP devised a growth accounting framework (GAF) to estimate the expected input and its various policy changes upon agricultural growth. These chapters have opened up the horizon and the goals of the APP.

The second part, 'Priority inputs', has four chapters (irrigation, fertilizers, technology, roads and power). These chapters are presented logically to show why they have been selected as key areas, their status at present and at the end of the plan, and investment allocations. For example, the APP has proposed that year-round irrigated land will increase from 45900 ha. in 1994/95 to 1126000 ha. in 2014/15. The fertilizer use will

increase from 101000 in 1994/95 to 628000 nutrient metric tons in 2014/15 with an average increment of 26000 nutrient metric tons per year. Irrigation and fertilizer respectively comprised of 56% and 13% of the priority input investment in the first five-year period of the plan. The APP has recognized the importance of the road and power, and improved technology respectively with 20% and 9% of the priority input investment allocations in the first five-year of the plan.

The third part, 'Priority outputs', includes four chapters (livestock, high-value crops, agribusiness, and forestry) and provides investment allocations. For example under the APP, the growth rate of the livestock sector will increase from 2.9% at the base period to 6.1% at the end period of the APP. The annual growth rate of the high-value crops will accelerate from 4.8% during the base period to 5.8% during the end period. A total amount equal to 30% of the input priority investments (10% for livestock, 10% for high value crops and agribusiness, and 10% for forestry) is estimated for the first five-year period of the plan.

The fourth part, 'Impact', has four chapters of the priority impact areas (poverty and food security, environment, hills and mountains, and terai). Each chapter deals with positive and negative impacts of the APP on them, and provides enhancement measures for positive impacts and mitigation measures for negative impacts. The APP can have dramatic effects. For example, the poverty incidence will decrease from 49% to 14% during the APP period. The APP land use changes, high-value tree crops, community forestry and wildlife habitats, IPM, environmental education, and dispersed urbanization will have positive environmental impacts. Similarly, priority package program strategy in mountains and hills, and terai has emphasized foodgrain production and the interdependence of these ecological regions.

The fifth part, 'Implementation', has three chapters (investment, public policy, and institutions) that form an excellent part of the plan providing a framework for implementation. Policy priorities include public policy commitment, public investment in the four input priority areas, price policy, and land reform legislation with a provision for consolidation. The national support committee, the department of agricultural roads, the Agricultural Development Bank as lead agency, the Agricultural Inputs Corporation, and the Nepal Agricultural Research Council have been identified as priority institutions. The last part of the plan contains the epilogue, list of contributors and their contributions, list of members of the

APP committees and working groups, list of participants in the national seminar, references, and indexes.

The APP is unique for several reasons: (i) it is a long-term perspective plan under which many plans (e.g., for each district) can be developed, (ii) unlike other plans, it has identified just four key areas of priority, (iii) it has highly considered environment and gender issues providing independent and built-in programmes in every component of the plan, (iv) it is developed mostly by Nepalese experts with minimal expatriate involvement, (v) the APP is based on widespread consultation and participatory approach and 26 technical reports prepared by 21 experts, many of them are prominent figures and leaders in their field of expertise, and (vi) it has received unanimous commitments from all forms of government. Poverty alleviation, for example, has become the recent focus of both government and non-government organizations. However, saying and doing are not the same. No plan is good unless it is implemented. If implemented as per commitment, the APP certainly offers an opportunity to put Nepal on to a fast growth track that will bring rural prosperity, a rapid decline in poverty, dispersed urbanization, and an improved environment. The APP has generated interest in non-agricultural sectors (e.g., science and technology) in preparing their perspective plans.

– Khadga Basnet